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A HISTORY

OF

THE JEWISH PEOPLE

IN THE TIME OF JESUS CHRIST.

BY

EMIL SCHÜRER, D.D., M.A.,
PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF GIESSEN.

Being a Second and Revised Edition of a "Manual of the History of New Testament Times."

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§ 16. DISTURBANCES AFTER HEROD'S DEATH, B.C. 4.

Sources.

Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 9-11; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 1-6. Zonaras, *Annales*, vi. 1-2 (summary from Josephus).

Nicolas of Damascus in Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecarum*, iii. 353 sq.; Feder, *Excerpta Escurialensia*, p. 67 sq.

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Hausrath, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, 2 Aufl. i. 275-283.

Lewin, *Fasti sacri ad Ann.* 4.

Brann, *De Herodis qui dicitur Magni filiis patrem in imperio secutis*, pars 1, 1873 (treats only of the events of B.C. 4).

Menke, *Bibelatlas*, Bl. V. "Judea and neighbouring countries in the time of Christ and the Apostles."

By the last will of Herod, Archelaus had been named his successor on the throne. Archelaus therefore made it his first business to secure the emperor's confirmation of his father's arrangement, and with this end in view he resolved to make a journey to Rome. But before he could start on such an expedition, he had to stamp out a rebellion in Jerusalem. The people could not so easily forget the execution of the two rabbis, Judas and Matthias, and violently insisted that Archelaus should bring to punishment the counsellors of Herod. Archelaus endeavoured at first in a conciliatory manner to dissuade the people from their purpose. But when he could not succeed in this way, the only result of his

proposals being the increase of the tumult, he resolved to crush the revolt by violence. He accordingly sent forth a detachment of soldiers against the people assembled in the temple, where the people who had flocked into Jerusalem in prospect of the approaching Passover festival were wont to gather at that season in great crowds. But the detachment sent was not strong enough to make way against the excited masses. A portion of the soldiers was stoned by the people; the rest, together with their leader, took to flight. Archelaus was now obliged to call out his whole fighting force; and only by the help of his entire army, amid great bloodshed, was he able to put down the rebellion.[1]

After Archelaus had thus by the exercise of force secured quiet, he hastened to Rome, leaving his brother Philip to act as administrator of the kingdom. Scarcely had he gone, when Antipas also started for Rome in order to press his own claims there. He had by the third and last will of Herod received only Galilee and Perea, whereas in the second will he had been appointed successor to the throne. He therefore now wished to represent to the emperor that to him, and not to Archelaus, did the kingdom properly belong. Many other members of the Herodian family were also present in Rome at the same time as Archelaus and Antipas, and these now mostly appeared against Archelaus, and expressed a strong desire that Palestine should now be put under immediate Roman government; or if this could not be, then they would rather have Antipas than Archelaus.[2]

Hence the sons of Herod plotted and schemed against one another in Rome. Augustus, in whose hands the decision lay, meanwhile convoked at his palace a consultative assembly, at which the opposing brothers were called upon to make a

[1] Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 9. 1–3; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 1. 1–3.

[2] Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 9. 3–4; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 2. 1–3. Nicolas of Damascus in Müller, iii. 353.

statement of their conflicting claims. A certain Antipater spoke on behalf of Antipas, while Nicolas of Damascus, formerly the minister of Herod, appeared on behalf of Archelaus. Each party sought to win over the emperor to his side, partly by advancing arguments, partly by insinuating suspicions against his opponent. When Augustus had heard both parties, he inclined more to the side of Archelaus, and made a statement to the effect that he was most fit to ascend the royal throne. Yet he did not wish immediately to decide the matter, and so dismissed the assembly without issuing a final and formal judgment.[3]

But before the question about the succession to the throne had been decided in Rome, new troubles had broken out in Judea. Soon after the departure of Archelaus the Jews had again risen in revolt, but had been restored to quiet by Varus, the governor of Syria. Varus had then returned to Antioch, leaving behind him in Jerusalem a legion to maintain order. But scarcely had he gone when the storm broke out afresh. After Herod's death, pending the settlement of the question of succession to the throne, the emperor had sent to Palestine a procurator, Sabinus. But he oppressed the people in every sort of way, and behaved in all directions in the most reckless manner. Hence it was that a revolt broke out again immediately after the withdrawal of Varus. It was now the season of the Passover festival, and therefore crowds of people were present in Jerusalem. They were divided into three great divisions, and attacked the Romans at the three different points: on the north of the temple, south beside the race-course, and on the west of the city beside the royal palace. The keenest struggle took place, first of all, at the temple. The Romans pressed forward successfully into the temple court; but the Jews offered a most stubborn resistance,—mounted upon the roofs of the buildings which surround the temple court,

[3] Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 9. 5–7; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 2. 4–7.

and hurled down stones upon the soldiers. These were therefore obliged to have recourse to fire, set flames to the roofs, and in this way succeeded at last in reaching the temple mount. When the longed for booty of the treasury of the temple fell into their hands, Sabinus appropriated to himself 400 talents.[4]

But this first defeat of the rebels was only the signal for the further spread of the rebellion. In Jerusalem a portion of the soldiers of Herod joined the rebels, and consequently they were able to lay siege to Sabinus and his fighting force in the palace of Herod.[5] In the neighbourhood of Sepphoris in Galilee, Judas, the son of that Hezekiah with whom Herod had once, to the great indignation of the Sanhedrim, made so short a process (see vol. i. p. 383), gathered a number about him, gained possession of the weapons stored up in the royal arsenal, distributed these among his followers, and was able then to make all Galilee unsafe. He is even said to have aimed at obtaining the royal crown.[6] In Perea a certain Simon, formerly a slave of Herod, collected a band, and had himself proclaimed king by his followers; but was soon afterwards conquered by a Roman detachment, and put to death.[7] Finally, it is reported of one termed Athronges, formerly a shepherd, that he had assumed the royal crown, and for a long time, along with his four brothers, kept the country in a ferment.[8]—It was a time of general upheaval, when every one sought to secure the greatest possible benefit for himself. On the part of the people there was agreement only on this one point, that every one wished at any cost to be freed from the power of the Romans.

When Varus was informed of these proceedings, he

[4] Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 10. 1–2; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 3. 1–3.
[5] Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 10. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 3. 4.
[6] Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 10. 5; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 4. 1.
[7] Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 10. 6; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 4. 2.
[8] Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 10. 7; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 4. 3.

hastened from Antioch, with the two legions which he still had with him, in order to restore order in Palestine. On the way he also procured, in addition, Arabian auxiliary troops sent by King Aretas, as well as other auxiliaries. With this fighting force he first of all reduced Galilee. Sepphoris, where that Judas had been fermenting disorder, was consigned to the flames, and the inhabitants sold as slaves. Thence Varus proceeded to Samaria, which, however, he spared because it had not taken part in the revolt. He then directed his course toward Jerusalem, where the legion stationed there was still being besieged by the Jews in the royal palace. Varus had there an easy game to play; for when the besiegers saw the powerful Roman forces approach, they lost their courage and took to flight. In this way Varus became lord of city and country. But Sabinus, who in consequence of his robbing the temple and of other misdeeds had no good conscience, made off as quickly as possible. Varus then led his troops up and down through the country, apprehending the rebels who were now lurking here and there in small parties. He had two thousand of them crucified, while he granted pardon to the mass of the people. After he had then stamped out the rebellion, he returned to Antioch.[9]

While these things were going on in Judea, Archelaus and Antipas were still in Rome waiting for the decision of the

[9] Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 10. 9–10, 11. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 5. 1–3.—This war of Varus is also referred to in *contra Apionem*, i. 7, as one of the most important between that of Pompey and that of Vespasian. The name Varus is therefore probably to be restored in a corrupt passage in *Seder olam*, *s. fin.*, in which it is said that "from the war of Asveros down to the war of Vespasian there were eighty years," מפולמום של אסוירום ועד פולמום של אספסיינוס שמנים שנה. Although the number eighty is somewhat too high, and although the best text exemplars give אסוירום, it is yet highly probable that ורום should be read, *i.e.* Varos (so Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, 4 Aufl. iii. pp. 249, 714 ff.; Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 194; Brann, *De Herodis qui dicitur Magni filiis*, p. 24 sq.). In reference to the transmission of the text, compare especially, Salzer, *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, iv. 1877, pp. 141–144.

emperor. Before this was issued an embassy from the people of Judea appeared before the emperor, asking that none of the Herodians should be appointed king, but that they should be permitted to live in accordance with their own laws. About the same time Philip also, the last of the three brothers, to whom territories had been bequeathed by Herod, made his appearance in Rome in order to press his claims, and likewise to support those of his brother Archelaus.[10] In regard to these conflicting claims, Augustus was obliged at last to give a decision. In an assembly which he fixed precisely for this purpose in the temple of Apollo, he heard first of all the ambassadors from the Jewish people. These reported a long list of scandalous misdeeds which Herod had allowed and sought them to buttress, their demand that none of the Herodian race should any more govern in Palestine, but that it should be granted them to live according to their own laws under Roman suzerainty. When they had ended, Nicolas of Damascus arose and spoke on behalf of his master Archelaus.[11] When Augustus had thus heard both sides, he issued his decision after a few days. By it the will of Herod was in all essential points sustained. Archelaus obtained the territory assigned to him: Judea, Samaria, Idumea; only the cities of Gaza, Gadara, and Hippos were severed from these domains and attached to the province of Syria; and instead of

[10] Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 11. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 6. 1.—The facts here related have unquestionably afforded the outward framework for the parable of the Pounds, Luke xix. 12 ff. Compare especially ver. 12: "A certain nobleman (Archelaus) went into a far country (Rome) to receive for himself a kingdom (Judea), and to return." Ver. 14: "But his citizens hated him, and sent a message after him, saying: We will not have this man to reign over us."—Sevin (*Chronologie des Lebens Jesu*, 1874, pp. 128–130) is wrong in thinking of the journey of Antipas reported by Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 1; for in it is wanting a main point, viz. the embassy and protest of the people. Indeed, we have no information at all as to the purpose of that journey.

[11] Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 11. 2–3 *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 6. 2.

the title of king, that of ethnarch was given him. Antipas obtained Galilee and Perea, with the title of tetrarch; Philip, also as tetrarch, received the districts of Batanea, Trachonitis, and Auranitis. Archelaus was to derive from his territories an income of 600 talents, Antipas 200 talents, and Philip 100 talents. Also Salome, the sister of Herod the Great, obtained the portion assigned to her, the cities of Jamnia, Azotus, Phasaelis, and 500,000 pieces of silver, in addition to the palace at Ascalon.[12]—Salome lived in the enjoyment of

[12] Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 11. 4–5; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 6. 3; generally also, Nicolas of Damascus in Müller, *Fragmenta*, iii. 354; Strabo, xvi. 2. 46, p. 765.—On the cities named above, Gaza, Gadara, Hippos, Jamnia, Azotus, Phasaelis, see § 23, I., Div. II. vol. i. pp. 68, 76, 78, 98, 100, 131. —The title ἐθνάρχης evidently signifies a rank somewhat higher than that of τετράρχης. The former had been conferred, *e.g.*, by Caesar upon Hyrcanus II. (see vol. i. p. 378), but is otherwise rare. On the other hand, the title τετράρχης is very common. Herod the Great and his brother Phasael had it conferred upon them by Antony (*Antiq.* xiv. 13. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 12. 5). In B.C. 20, Pheroras was made tetrarch of Perea (*Antiq.* xv. 10. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 24. 5).—The expression τετραρχία was first made use of by Euripides with reference to Thessaly. That country had been from early times divided into four districts (*Harpocration*, *Lex.* ed. Dindorf, *s.v.* Τετραρχία . . . καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν τῇ κοινῇ Θετταλῶν πολιτείᾳ ἐπὶ Ἀλεύα τοῦ Πύρρου διηρῆσθαί φησιν εἰς δ' μοίρας τὴν Θετταλίαν. On the antiquity of the Aleuadae and on the constitutional history of Thessaly generally, see Gilbert, *Handbuch der griechischen Staatsalterthümer*, Bd. ii. 1885, pp. 5–17). Euripides therefore, at the close of his *Alcestis*, makes Admetus say: "I now command the citizens and every tetrarchy (or: 'and the whole tetrarchy') to proceed with the dances and to bring forward the sacrifices," etc. (Euripides, *Alcestis* 1154: Ἀστοῖς δὲ πάσῃ τ' ἐννέπω τετραρχίᾳ, etc.). When King Philip of Macedon had reduced the whole of Thessaly under his rule, he set an ἄρχων over every τετράς (*Harpocration*, *l.c.*: ὅτι δὲ Φίλιππος καθ' ἑκάστην τούτων τῶν μοιρῶν ἄρχοντα κατέστησε δεδηλώκασιν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν τῇ μδ'). With reference to this proceeding, Demosthenes says that Philip instituted tetrarchies in Thessaly (Demosthenes, *Philipp.* iii. 26: ἀλλὰ Θετταλία πῶς ἔχει; οὐχὶ τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν παρῄρηται καὶ τετραρχίας κατέστησεν). While some doubt can be entertained as to the meaning of τετραρχία in Euripides, it clearly signifies in Demosthenes a province containing a fourth part of the kingdom (the government of a τετράς, whence also is derived τετραδαρχία). We also meet with the expression in this original sense in Galatia. Over this country, according

these possessions for some twelve or fourteen years. She died

to the description of Strabo, twelve tetrarchies ruled, that is, four over each of the three tribes of the Trocmi, Tolistoboii, and Tectosagae (Strabo, xii. 5. 1, p. 566 sq.; less correctly in Pliny, *Hist. Naturalis*, v. 146). When the most of them had been massacred by Mithridates (Appian, *Mithridat.* 46), Pompey rearranged matters, so that over each of the three tribes there was set one tetrarch. Subsequently the number was reduced to two, and finally to one, the Dejotarus (Strabo, xii. 5. 1, p. 567; compare, in addition, the complete exposition of these relations in Niese, *Rhein. Museum*, Bd. 38, 1883, pp. 583–600). But although the title of tetrarch had wholly lost its original meaning, it was still retained; for the title of king, which some assumed, applied, not to Galatia, but to other possessions (Strabo, xii. 3. 13, p. 547, xiii. 4. 3, p. 625; Niese, *Rhein. Museum*). The title of tetrarch, completely stripped of its original signification, is met with also elsewhere very frequently in the Roman times. It was then used simply to indicate a small dependent prince, whose rank and authority was less than that of a king. Such tetrarchs seem to have been very numerous, especially in Syria. Compare Pliny, *Hist. Naturalis*, v. 74: "intercursant cinguntque has urbes [Decapoleos] tetrarchiae, regnorum instar singulae; *ibid.* 77: Decapolitana regio praedictaeque cum ea tetrarchiae; *ibid.* 81: Nazerinorum tetrarchia; *ibid.*: tetrarchias duas quae Granucomatitae vocantur; *ibid.* 82: tetrarchiam quae Mammisea appellatur; *ibid.*: tetrarchias in regna descriptas barbaris nominibus," xvii. Josephus, *Vita*, 11: ἔκγονος Σοέμου τοῦ περὶ τὸν Λίβανον τετραρχοῦντος. Antony made presents of "tetrarchies and kingdoms" (Plutarch, *Antony*, 36: πολλοῖς ἐχαρίζετο τετραρχίας καὶ βασιλείας ἐθνῶν μεγάλων). To the army of Varus in B.C. 4 belonged also auxiliaries which ἢ βασιλεῖς ἢ τινες τετράρχαι τότε παρεῖχον (Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 10. 9, *init.*). In the time of Nero the "tetrarch and kings" in Asia were instructed to obey the orders of Corbulo (Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 25: "scribitur tetrarchis ac regibus praefectisque et procuratoribus . . . jussis *Corbulonis obsequi*"). And so generally during the Roman times besides the *reges*, the *tetrarchae* were very often referred to as minor princes of subordinate rank (*e.g.* Cicero, *in Vatinium*, 12. 29; *pro Balbo*, 5. 13; *pro Milone*, 28. 76; *Philipp.* xi. 12. 31; Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* iii. 3; *Bell. Alex.* 78; Horace, *Satires*, i. 3. 12. Further examples may be found in the literature quoted below). Besides the Galatian tetrarchs and the Herodian princes, we have particular information about the tetrarchs of Chalcis or Iturea: Ptolemy, Lysanias, Zenodorus (see about these in Appendix I.). When we consider the small importance of these minor princes, it is not to be wondered at that the title τετράρχης is comparatively seldom met with on inscriptions and coins. On inscriptions, compare *Corpus Inscript. Graec.* n. 4033, 4058; *Bullettino dell' Instituto di corrisp. archeol.* 1873, p. 365 sq. (both referring to Herod Antipas); *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* n. 4521, 4523 = Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 317–319 (dynasty of Chalcis). Of coins,

about A.D. 10, in the time of the procurator M. Ambivius, and bequeathed her property to the Empress Livia.[13]

What had been the empire of Herod was therefore now parted into three territories, each of which has for a while its own history.

besides those of Philip and Herod Antipas, we meet only with those of Ptolemy, Lysanias, and Zenodorus (see Appendix I.).—Compare generally: Stephanus, *Thesaurus*, *s.v.* Τετράοχης and Τετραρχία; Forcellini, *Lexicon*, *s.v. tetrarches* and *tetrarchia*; Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, ii. 593; Keim in Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*, v. 487–490; Bohn, *Qua condicione juris reges socii populi Romani fuerint* (1877), pp. 9–11; Niese, *Galatien und seine Tetrarchen* (*Rhein. Museum*, Bd. 38, 1883, pp. 583–600).

[13] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 2.

§ 17. THE SONS OF HEROD.

a. PHILIP, B.C. 4–A.D. 34. HIS TERRITORY UNDER THE ROMANS, A.D. 34–37.

SOURCES.

JOSEPHUS, *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 1, 4. 6, 6. 10; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 1–6. On the coins, see below.

LITERATURE.[1]

EWALD, *History of Israel*, vi. 71–74, 347.

WESTCOTT in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible.*

WINER, *Realwörterbuch*, ii. 250.

LEYRER in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 2 Aufl. xi. 618.

KEIM, *Jesus of Nazara*, i. 258, 274; in Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*, iii. 40–42.

LEWIN, *Fasti Sacri* (see Index, p. 408).

BRANN, *Die Söhne des Herodes*, 1873 (reprint from the *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*), pp. 77–87.

THE extent of the territory which Philip received is variously stated in different places by Josephus.[2] Putting altogether, it embraced the districts of Batanea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, Gaulanitis, Panias, and, according to Luke iii. 1, also Iturea.[3]

[1] The most thorough treatise on Herod's sons and grandsons is the article by Keim in Schenkel's *Bibellexikon.*—The older literature is given by Reuss, *Geschichte der heiligen Schriften A. T.'s*, § 558.

[2] Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 8. 1, 11. 4, xviii. 4. 6; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 6. 3. In the latter passage, undoubtedly, instead of Ἰάμνειαν should be read Πανειάδα, in accordance with *Antiq.* xvii. 8. 1, 11. 4.

[3] Batanea corresponds to the Old Testament Bashan (בָּשָׁן); Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 232: Βασάν . . . αὕτη Βασανῖτις ἡ νῦν καλουμένη Βαταναία. Yet the ancient Bashan was of larger extent than the modern Batanea. By Bashan was understood the whole region on the other side of Jordan between Hermon on the north and the district of Gilead on the south, extending eastward as far as Salcha, on the southern

The districts named were not ancient tribal possessions of the Jewish people, but were in great part added to the Jewish

slope of the Hauran. See Deut. iii. 10, 13; Josh. xii. 4, xiii. 11, 30, xvii. 1, 5; 1 Chron. v. 23. But within this district lay the later provinces of Trachonitis, Auranitis, and Gaulanitis; so that thus Batanea is only a part of the ancient Bashan. The expression, however, is sometimes used even by later writers in the wider sense; *e.g.* Josephus, *Life*, 11 *med.*: *μετὰ τῶν ἐν Βαταναίᾳ Τραχωνιτῶν.* Since the cities of Ashtaroth and Edrei are named as the chief cities of Bashan (Josh. xii. 4, xiii. 11, 30), it may be assumed that these also formed the centre of the modern Batanea. Edrei, later Adraa, the modern Der'a, lies almost exactly in the middle between the southern point of the lake of Gennezaret and the southern end of the mountains of Hauran. That Ashtaroth and Adraa lay in Batanea is stated by Eusebius (*Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, pp. 209, 213, 268, articles *Ἀσταρὼθ Καρναείν*, *Ἀσταρώθ*, and *Καρναείμ Ἀσταρώθ*). The Greek *Βαταναία* of Polybius, xvi., also corresponds to that of Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 3. 3, and Ptolemy, v. 15. 26.

Trachonitis or *ὁ Τράχων* (so Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 16. 5, xv. 10. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 6. 3; and the inscription of Mismie) is the rugged plateau south of Damascus, stretching on to Bostra, which is now called the Lejâh. It lies, therefore, north-east of Batanea proper. Proof of this is afforded by the following data. On an inscription at Mismie, the ancient Phäna, in the north of the Lejâh, this place is characterized as *μητροκωμία τοῦ Τράχωνος* (*Corp. Inscr. Graec.* n. 4551 = Le Bas et Waddington, *Inscriptions*, t. iii. n. 2524). Strabo speaks of the *Τράχωνες* as two hills in the neighbourhood of Damascus (Strabo, xvi. 2. 20, p. 756: *ὑπέρκεινται ὃ αὐτῆς δύο λεγόμενοι λόφοι Τράχωνες*; compare also xvi. 2. 16, p. 755). Eusebius places Trachonitis in the immediate neighbourhood of Bostra (*Onomasticon*, *s.v.* *Ἰτουραία*, ed. Lagarde, p. 268: *Τραχωνῖτις δὲ καλεῖται ἡ παρακειμένη χώρα τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῇ κατὰ Βόστραν τῆς Ἀραβίας. Ibid. s.v.* *Καναάθ*, p. 269: *κεῖται δὲ καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν Τραχῶνι πλησίον Βοστρῶν. Ibid. s.v.* *Τραχωνῖτις*, p. 298: *ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ἐπέκεινα Βοστρῶν κατὰ τὴν ἔρημον πρὸς νότον ὡς ἐπὶ Δαμασκόν*). Also in a rabbinical treatise on the boundaries of Palestine the statement occurs: "Trachon, in the neighbourhood of Bostra" (*jer. Shebiith* vi. 1, fol. 36*c*; *Tosephta Shebiith* iv. ed. Zuckermandel, p. 66, 10; *Siphre*, section *Ekeb*, at the end. The Jerusalem Talmud has טרכונא דמתחם לבוצרה, "Trachon, which borders on Bostra." Compare on the whole subject: Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, pp. 10–21; and, especially, Hildesheimer, *Beiträge zur Géographie Palästinas*, Berlin 1886 [on Trachon, pp. 55–57]). The Targums identify טרכונא with the biblical Argob (*Onkelos*, Deut. iii. 4, 13 f.). Pliny speaks of Trachonitis as in the neighbourhood of Panias (Pliny, *Hist. Naturalis*, v. 74); Ptolemy (v. 15. 23) speaks of the *Τραχωνῖται Ἄραβες* as dwelling to the east of Batanea. The latter passage is indeed explained by Waddington, *Comptes*

territory in later times. The population was a mixed one; and

rendus de l'Academie des inscr. 1865, p. 102 sq., as meaning rather the reverse, namely, that Batanea proper lay to the east of Trachonitis; but his exposition hardly commends itself.—In determining the meaning of Luke iii. 1, it is of interest to note that Philo, or rather Agrippa in the letter communicated by Philo, uses the abbreviated expression: τὴν Τραχωνῖτιν λεγομένην, to describe the whole territory of Philip, just as for the territories of Herod Antipas he uses the phrase: τὴν Γαλιλαίαν; both *a parte potiori*, as in Luke. See Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, § 41, ed. Mangey, ii. 593 *fin.*

Auranitis is the חוּרָן mentioned by Ezekiel, xlvii. 16, 18; which also in the Mishna, *Rosh hashana* ii. 4, is spoken of as one of the stations for the five signals from Judea to Babylon. Some manuscripts of the Mishna have חורן, others חברן. Since the Hauran, according to the context of the Mishna, must be a mountain, Auranitis is undoubtedly the country round about the mountain peak, which now is called Jebel Hauran.

Gaulanitis has its name from the town Golan, which in the Bible is reckoned in Bashan (Deut. iv. 43; Josh. xx. 8, xxi. 27; 1 Chron. vi. 56; Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 242). Josephus distinguishes Upper and Lower Gaulanitis, and remarks that in the latter lies the city Gamala (*Wars of the Jews*, iv. 1. 1; according to the same passage, Gamala lay on the eastern bank of the lake of Gennezaret). According to *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 3. 1, Gaulanitis formed the eastern boundary of Galilee. Hence Gaulanitis is practically within the same lines as what is now called Djaulan, embracing the lowlands east of the Jordan from its source down to the southern point of the lake of Gennezaret. A detailed description of it is given by Schumacher in the *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, ix. 1886.

The district of Panias, at the sources of the Jordan (see on the town Panias, Div. II. vol. i. pp. 132–135), had in earlier times belonged to Zenodorus, and before that to the kingdom of the Itureans (see Appendix I. at the close of this volume). So far the statement of Luke is not altogether incorrect, that Philip also ruled over Iturea. But that district formed, indeed, only a small portion of what had been the kingdom of the Itureans. The Itureans proper had their dwelling in the Lebanon (see Appendix I.), and during the period A.D. 38–49 were under the sovereignty of a certain Soemus (Dio Cassius, lix. 12; Tacitus, xii. 23), while at that same time Agrippa I. had in his possession the whole tetrarchy of Philip (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 10, xix. 8. 2). Iturea proper cannot therefore have belonged to the domain of Philip (see Keim in Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*, iii. 41). Wetzstein's idea is certainly wrong, that Iturea is to be placed upon the eastern slope of the Hauran.

Compare generally on the districts above named: Reland, *Palaestina*, pp. 106–110, 193–203; Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, pp. 249 sq., 458 sq., 285 sq.; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xv. 800–1001; Raumer, *Palästine*, p. 226 ff.; the articles

the non-Jewish, *i.e.* Syrian and Greek, element prevailed.[4] Philip himself was certainly a real exception among the sons and

on Basan, Trachonitis, Havran or Hauran, and Golan in the Biblical Dictionaries of Smith, Kitto, Fairbairn, Winer, Schenkel, and Riehm; F. W. Schultz in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 2 Aufl. ii. 112–116 (article "Basan"); Cless in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, vi. 2, 2038 f., art. "Trachonitis;" Kuhn, *Die städtische und bürgerliche Verfassung des röm. Reichs*, ii. 381 f., 384 f.; Porter, "Historico-Geographical History of Bashan" (in *Journal of Sacred Literature*, new series, vol. vi. 1854, pp. 281–313); *Five Years in Damascus*, 1855, ii. 250–275; Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen*, 1860, pp. 36 f., 82–92; Wetzstein's Excursus to Delitzsch's *Commentary on Job;* Waddington, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, 1865, pp. 82–89, 102–109. The treatise of Nöldeke, *Zeitschrift der DMG.* 1875, p. 419 ff., deals with the sixth century after Christ.

With reference to the southern limits of the tetrarchy of Philip this much may be accepted with confidence, that the region round about the cities now called Bosra and Salkhat, south of the Hauran, did not belong to his domain, as is proved by inscriptions discovered in these cities bearing the names of the Arabian kings Malchus and Aretas. See de Vogüé, *Syrie centrale, Inscriptions sémitiques* (1868), pp. 103, 107. On the other hand, Hebran, on the southern slope of the Hauran, still belonged to his territory; for an Aramaic inscription found there is dated not according to the years of the reign of an Arabian king, but according to the years of Claudius: "In the month Tizri in the seventh year of the Emperor Claudius" = A.D. 46. See *de Vogüé*, p. 100. From this, therefore, one may conclude that Hebran belonged to the domain of Philip, and that in A.D. 37 it was given over to Agrippa I., and was after his death placed under Roman administration. Compare the remarks of Le Bas and Waddington, *Inscriptions*, t. iii. n. 2286.

[4] In Batanea, Herod the Great, in the last years of his reign, had settled a Jewish colony from Babylon, under the leadership of a certain Zamaris, and conferred on them the privilege of complete freedom from taxation, which was also, in all essential points, respected by Philip. See *Antiq.* xvii. 2. 1–3. For the history of this colony, compare also Josephus, *Life*, 11; De Saulcy, "Monnaies des Zamarides" (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1871, pp. 157–181). These "coins of the Zamaridae" are in the highest degree problematical.—In Trachonitis, Herod the Great had settled 3000 Idumeans, to whom he assigned the task of maintaining the peace of the district against the robber bands which inhabited it. See *Antiq.* xvi. 9. 2. —The majority of the inhabitants, however, was pagan, as is proved by the large proportion of the Greek inscriptions of that region which are still preserved. Compare also, in general, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 3. 5: *οἰκοῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν μιγάδες Ἰουδαῖοί τε καὶ Σύροι*; and, in addition, Div. II. vol. i. p. 4.

grandsons of Herod. While all the others, copying fathers and grandfathers, were ambitious, imperious, harsh, and tyrannical toward their subjects, nothing but what is honourable is told of Philip. His reign was mild, just, and peaceful. To the traditions of his father he remained faithful only in this, that he also sought renown in the construction of great buildings. The building of two cities by him is expressly reported. The ancient Panias, at the sources of the Jordan, north of the lake of Gennezaret, he rebuilt, with larger dimensions, and gave it, in honour of the emperor, the name of Caesarea. To distinguish it from the well-known Caesarea by the sea, it was called Caesarea Philippi, under which name we are familiar with it in the Gospel history (Matt. xvi. 13; Mark viii. 27). The other city which he rebuilt was the Bethsaida[5] situated at the point where the Jordan enters into the lake of Gennezaret, which, in honour of the daughter of Augustus, he named Julias.[6] Josephus tells of him, incidentally, that he first discovered and proved that the supposed sources of the Jordan at Panias obtained their water by a subterranean passage from the so-called Phiala. Philip demonstrated this by throwing in chaff into the Phiala, which came out again at Panias.[7]

We know, however, nothing more about his reign beyond what Josephus tells us in reporting his death:[8] "He had

[5] To be distinguished, probably, from the New Testament town of that name. See, however, Div. II. vol. i. p. 136.

[6] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 1.—On both cities, the time of their building and their subsequent history, see Div. II. vol. i. pp. 133–136.

[7] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 10. 7. According to the description of Josephus, the "Phiala" can scarcely be anything else than the present Birket Ram. But then the story told by him is not possible, owing to the relative levels. See Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xv. 1. 174–177; Robinson, *Later Biblical Researches*, p. 400; Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 394; Guérin, *Galilee*, ii. 329–331; Schumacher, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, ix. 1886, p. 256 f. (with map).

[8] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 6: Τελευτᾷ . . . μέτριον ἐν οἷς ἦρχε παρασχὼν τὸν τρόπον καὶ ἀπράγμονα. Δίαιταν μὲν γὰρ τὸ πᾶν ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ ὑποτελεῖ

shown himself a person of moderation and quietness in the conduct of his life and government. He constantly lived in that country which was subject to him. He used to make his progress with a few chosen friends; his tribunal, also, on which he sat in judgment, followed him in his progress; and when any one met him who wanted his assistance, he made no delay, but had his tribunal set down immediately, wheresoever he happened to be, and sat down upon it and heard his complaint; he then ordered the guilty, that were convicted, to be punished, and absolved those that were accused unjustly." — Of his private life we know only that he was married to Salome, daughter of Herodias, and that there were no children by this marriage.[9] — According to his political principles, he was a consistent friend of the Romans, and laid great value upon the favour of the emperor. This is shown not only in his giving to his cities the names of Caesarea and Julias, but also in his impressing upon his coins the images of Augustus and Tiberius,—this being the first instance in which any likeness was engraven on the coins of a Jewish prince.[10]

ἐποιεῖτο· πρόοδοι δ' ἦσαν αὐτῷ σὺν ὀλιγοις τῶν ἐπιλέκτων, καὶ τοῦ θρόνου εἰς ὃν κρίνειε καθιζόμενος ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐπομένου, ὁπότε τις ὑπαντιάσας ἐν χρείᾳ γένοιτο αὐτῷ ἐπιβοηθεῖν, οὐδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἱδρύσεως τοῦ θρόνου ἧ καὶ τύχοι γενομένης καθιζόμενος ἠκροᾶτο, καὶ τιμωρίας τε ἐπετίμα τοῖς ἁλοῦσι καὶ ἠφίει τοὺς ἀδίκως ἐν ἐγκλήμασι γενομένους. — The judge's sitting upon the *sella* was a necessary formality, without which the decision would have no legal effect. Examples: Matt. xxvii. 19; John xix. 13; Acts xxv. 6; Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 3 (Pilate), ii. 14. 8 (Florus), iii. 10. 10 (Vespasian). Generally on the *sella curulis* and the sitting of the magistrate, Rein in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, vi. 1. 960; Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, i. 315 ff.

[9] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 4.

[10] In explanation of this, it should be remembered that Philip's domain was predominantly pagan.—Compare on the coins: Eckhel, iii. 490 sq.; Mionnet, v. 566 sq.; Lenormant, *Trésor de numismatique*, p. 126, pl. lx. n. 1–2; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 100–102; De Saulcy, "Notes sur les monnaies de Philippe le tétrarque" (*Annuaire de la Société française de Numismatique et d'Archéologie*, t. iii. 1868–1873, pp. 262–265);

Philip died, after a reign of thirty-seven years, in the 20th year of Tiberius, A.D. 33–34, and was buried in the tomb built by himself.[11] His territory was then added to that of Syria, but retained the right of administering its own revenues;[12] and was again, after a few years, made over to a prince of the Herodian family. The Emperor Caligula, immediately after his succession to the throne, in March A.D. 37, gifted the tetrarchy of Philip to Agrippa, a son of that Aristobolus who had been executed by his father Herod, and so a grandson of Herod and Mariamme.[13]

Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881, pp. 123-127 (this is the most complete exposition); De Saulcy, "Monnaie inédite de Philippe le tétrarque" (*Annuaire de la Société fr. de. Num. et d'Arch.* t. v., or, seconde série, t. i. fasc. 3, 1879, p. 181 sq.). — The coins have on the one side the name of Philip, ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ, with the image of a temple and the number of the year 12, 16, 19, 33, 37 (the number of the year IB = 12 in Madden, *Coins*, p. 125, and on an example in de Saulcy, *Annuaire*, v. 3. 181 sq., not given by Madden). The year numbers 26 and 29, given by Mionnet, are regarded by de Saulcy as false readings. The coins of the year 37 (first communicated by Madden, *History*, p. 102) belong to the last year of Philip, A.D. 33–34. The coins of the year 12 and 16 = A.D. 8-9 or 12–13, have on the obverse the head of Augustus and the inscription ΚΑΙCΑΡΙ CΕΒΑCΤΩ (fragmentary); those of the years 19, 33, 37 have the head of Tiberius, with a similar inscription: those of 37 have the full name ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟC CΕΒΑCΤΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ.—The temple engraved on all the coins is indeed the temple of Augustus at Panias which Herod the Great had built (*Antiq.* xv. 10. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 21. 3). The type is therefore wholly pagan.—The image and name of the emperor are also found on the coins of many other dependent kings, from the time of Augustus onward; yet there are still instances in which all allusion to the supreme imperial authority is wanting. See Bohn, *Qua condicione juris reges socii populi Romani fuerint*, 1877, pp. 45–49.

[11] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 6.—The 20th year of Tiberius began on the 19th August A.D. 33. The 37th year of Philip ended, if we reckon from Nisan to Nisan (compare vol. i. p. 465), in spring A.U.C. 787 = A.D. 34. Philip therefore died in the winter of A.D. 33–34.

[12] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 6.

[13] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 10; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 6.

b. Herod Antipas, B.C. 4–A.D. 39.

Sources.

Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 1 and 3, 4. 5, 5. 1–3, 7. 1–2; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 1, 6.

In the New Testament: Matt. xiv. 1–11; Mark vi. 14–28; Luke iii. 19 f., ix. 7–9, xiii. 31, xxiii. 7–12.

On the coins, see below.

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Lewin, *Fasti Sacri* (see Index, p. 408).

Brann, *Die Söhne des Herodes*, 1873 (reprint from the *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*), pp. 17–76.

In the partition of their father's possessions, a larger slice than that given to Philip fell to the lot of his half-brother Antipas, or, as he is frequently called by Josephus, on the coins, and in the New Testament, Herod, to whom, as well as to Philip, was given the title of tetrarch.[1] His territory,

[1] Thus is he correctly named in Matt. xiv. 1; Luke iii. 19; on the other hand, he is incorrectly called *βασιλεύς* in Mark vi. 14.—Since Herod Antipas is the only Herod who bore the title of tetrarch, the two following inscriptions are undoubtedly to be referred to him. They give evidence, at the same time, of his foreign travels:—

(*a*) On the island of Cos (*Corpus Inscript. Graec.* n. 2502):

Ἡρώδην
Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως υἱόν,
τετράρχην,
Φίλων Ἀγλάου, φύσει δὲ Νίκωνος
τὸν αὐτοῦ ξένον καὶ φίλον.

embracing Galilee and Perea, was indeed broken up into two parts by the so-called Decapolis, which came in like a wedge between Galilee and Perea.[2] But for this he was amply indemnified by the fact that the half of his domains consisted of the beautiful, fertile, and thickly-populated Galilee, with its vigorous and brave, though freedom-loving inhabitants.[3] In point of character, Antipas was a genuine son of old Herod,—sly, ambitious, and luxurious, only not so able as his father.[4] In regard to his slyness we have unmistakable evidence from the life of Jesus, who, on a memorable occasion, attached to him the designation of "that fox."[5] It was always necessary to have recourse to craft in order to keep the Galileans in order, and to guard the frontiers of Perea against the robber raids of the Arabians. For the defence of Galilee he rebuilt Sepphoris, that had been destroyed by fire by the soldiers of Varus (see above, p. 4), and surrounded it with strong walls. And for the defence of Perea he fortified Betharamphtha, and named it after the emperor's wife Livias

(*b*) On the island of Delos (*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, t. iii. 1879, p. 365 sq.):

Ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀ[θηναίων καὶ οἱ]
κατοικο[ῦντες τὴν νῆσον]
Ἡρώδην βασιλέ[ως Ἡρώδου υἱὸν]
τετράρχην ἀρετῆ[ς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοί-]
ας τῆς εἰς ἑαυτοὺ[ς . . . ἀνέθηκαν].

[2] Compare the map in Menke's *Bibelatlas*.—On the Decapolis (Matt. iv. 25; Mark v. 20, vii. 31), see Div. II. vol. i. pp. 94–121.

[3] Compare the description of Galilee in Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 3. 2–3, 10. 8.

[4] Josephus in *Antiq.* xviii. 7. 2, characterizes him as ἀγαπῶν τὴν ἡσυχίαν.

[5] Luke xiii. 32.—Hofmann, *Schriftbeweis*, ii. 1. 315; Gerlach, *Zeitschrift für luth. Theologie*, 1869, p. 36; and Volkmar, *Die Evangelien*, 1870, p. 499 f., explain the use of the phrase "that fox," not as a symbol of craftiness, but as that of open robbery and rapacity. See, on the other hand, Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, iv. 344; and Hamburger, *Real-Encyclop. für Bibel und Talmud*, Abth. i. (1870) art. "Fuchs." In the Talmud the fox is expressly designated as "being regarded as the sliest among the beasts," שאומרין עליו פקח שבחיות (*b. Berachoth* 61*b*).

or Julias.[6] He was also undoubtedly induced by political motives to marry the daughter of the Arabian king Aretas.[7] He thought that in this way he would be better able than by all fortifications to secure the country against the inroads of the Arabians; and perhaps it was Augustus himself who persuaded him to enter on this marriage.[8]

Like all the Herods, Herod Antipas delighted in magnificent buildings. In this direction he was particularly taken up with the idea of building a splendid capital, which he undertook during the time of Tiberius.[9] He selected, as the site for his city, the most beautiful spot in Galilee, the western bank of the lake of Gennezaret, in the neighbourhood of the warm springs of Emmaus. The choice of this spot was in one respect not a happy one. For just on that spot on which the city was built, as became apparent from the sepulchral monuments, was an ancient burying-ground, and the inhabiting of such a place was impossible to the Jews who strictly observed the law, since every contact with a grave occasioned ceremonial impurity of seven days.[10] Herod was therefore obliged, in order to secure inhabitants for his city, to settle there by force many foreigners, adventurers, and beggars, so that the population was of a very mixed description. But in regard to the beauty of the buildings nothing more perfect could be desired. It had, among other public structures, a

[6] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 1.—On both cities, and on the change of the names Livias and Julias, see Div. II. vol. i. pp. 141–143.

[7] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 1.—On Aretas and the Nabatean kings generally, see Appendix II.

[8] Compare Suetonius, *Augustus*, c. 48: "Reges socios etiam inter semet ipsos necessitudinibus mutuis junxit, promptissimus affinitatis cujusque atque amicitiae conciliator et fautor."

[9] On the time of the building of Tiberias, see Div. II. vol. i. pp. 143, 144.

[10] Num. xix. 16; Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 3. More detailed particulars about impurity caused by graves are given in *Mishna Ohaloth* xvii., xviii.

στάδιον[11] and a royal palace, which, indeed, by its figures of animals gave offence, and during the war with the Romans was sacrificed to the fanaticism of the Jews.[12] Also there was not wanting a Jewish *προσευχή*, a *μέγιστον οἴκημα*.[13] The constitution of the city was wholly modelled upon the Hellenistic pattern. It had a council, *βουλή*, of 600 members, with an *ἄρχων*, and a committee of the *δέκα πρῶτοι*; also Hyparchs and an Agoranomos. In honour of the emperor the new capital was named Tiberias.[14]

During the time of Pilate, A.D. 26–36, Antipas, together with his brother, successfully made complaints against Pilate on account of his having set up an offensive votive shield in the palace at Jerusalem.[15] And as he was in this instance the representation of the Jewish claims, he also did not venture otherwise, notwithstanding his paganish buildings at Tiberias, to break away completely from the traditions of Judaism, and even in this respect showed himself a true son of Herod. From the Gospel we know that he went up to the feast at Jerusalem (Luke xxiii. 7); and his coins, just like those of old Herod, have upon them no image.[16]

[11] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 21. 6, iii. 10. 10; *Life*, 17, 64.

[12] Josephus, *Life*, 12. [13] Josephus, *Life*, 54.

[14] Compare on the building of Tiberias generally: Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 1; *Life*, 9. For further details about the city and the nature of its institution, see Div. II. vol. i. pp. 143–147.

[15] Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 30 (ed. Mangey, ii. 589 sq.).—Philo indeed does not mention the name of Antipas, but states that "*οἱ βασιλέως* [*Ηρώδου*] *υἱεῖς τέτταρες οὐκ ἀποδέοντες τό τε ἀξίωμα καὶ τὰς τύχας τῶν βασιλέων*" made themselves specially prominent in the business. Philip and Antipas were first of all intended by this statement. Archelaus was no longer resident in Palestine after A.D. 6. But it remains questionable who the other two are. We know expressly from *Antiq.* xvii. 1. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 28. 4, that there were still three sons of Herod who might be named in this connection: 1. Herod, son of Mariamme; 2. Herod, son of Cleopatra; and 3. Phasael, son of Pallas.

[16] On the coins of Herod Antipas, compare Eckhel, iii. 486–490; Mionnet, v. 566; Lenormant, *Trésor de Numismatique*, p. 125, pl. lix. n. 16–20; Cavedoni, *Biblische Numismatik*, i. 53, 58–60; Levy, *Geschichte*

The complaint against Pilate was probably not made before A.D. 36.[17] Also what we otherwise known of Herod Antipas belongs to the later period, somewhere in the last ten years of his reign. During that period he was almost wholly under the influence of a woman, who occasioned to him a whole series of misfortunes. When once he made a journey to Rome, we know not for what purpose, nor exactly at what time, he started before the departure of his half-brother Herod, the son of Mariamme the high priest's daughter, who had been designated eventual successor to the throne in the first will of Herod (see vol. i. p. 462). That Herod was married to

der jüd. Munzen, p. 80; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 95–99; De Saulcy, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1871, p. 254; Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1875, pp. 47–49; De Saulcy, *Melanges de Numismatique*, t. ii. 1877, p. 92; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881, pp. 118–122 (this gives the most complete list).—The coins fall into two classes: 1. The one class has the inscription ΗΡΩΔΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ, with the number of the year, 33, 34, 37, 38; on the other side the name of the city, ΤΙΒΕΡΙΑΣ. 2. The other class has the inscription ΗΡΩΔΗΣ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΗΣ; on the other side, ΓΑΙΩ ΚΑΙCΑΡΙ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΩ. Of this second class there are only three examples which can be with certainty identified, all with the year number ΜΓ or 43=A.D. 39–40. Since this was most probably the last year of Herod Antipas, the existence of the year number 44, which some prefer to read, is extremely questionable. One of the two who contend for this date, Vaillant, is generally not to be depended on; the other, Freret, describes a coin (in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, alte serie, t. xxi. 1754, p. 293, according to a manuscript by Erland) which had on one side the inscription ΗΡΩΔΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ (*sic*), while the inscription on the other side was quite illegible. The coin seems therefore to have belonged to the first class, and it may be reasonably conjectured that instead of ΜΔ, 44, should be read ΛΔ, 34. Compare, however, what is said in vol. i. p. 465.—The coins of Antipas, with the name of the emperor, without his image, occupy a middle position between those of Herod the Great, which have neither name nor image of the emperor, and those of Philip, which have both.

[17] This conclusion may be drawn from Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, § 24 (ed. Mangey, ii. 569), according to which Tiberius, during the lifetime of Sejanus (who died A.D. 31), was unfavourably disposed toward the Jews, whereas after his death he became decidedly favourable to their religious peculiarities.

Herodias, a daughter of Aristobulus, executed in B.C. 7.[18] The issue of this marriage was Salome, the wife of the tetrarch Philip, who was then not the first husband, as the Gospels tell us, but the son-in-law of Herodias.[19] When now Antipas paid a visit to the house of his brother, he was fascinated by Herodias, and made his proposals of marriage, to which the ambitious woman readily assented. It was arranged that Herod on his return from Rome should divorce his wife, the daughter of Aretas, and should be married to Herodias. With this promise he proceeded on his journey to Rome. On his return, his wife, who had meanwhile obtained information about the proposed procedure, entreated him that he would have her sent to Machärus, the strong fortress east of the Dead Sea, which then belonged to Aretas. Since Antipas

[18] Compare on Herodias, Winer, *RWB.* i. 486; Keim in Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*, iii. 46–49.

[19] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 4.—Philip is named as first husband of Herodias in Mark vi. 17. The parallel passage, Matt. xiv. 3, omits the name in cod. D, and is put in brackets by Tischendorf (ed. 8), but is inclined, owing to the unanimous testimony of all the other manuscripts, to hold it as genuine. In Luke iii. 19, on the other hand, where it is inserted in the *textus receptus*, it ought certainly to be struck out.—Since, according to Josephus, not the tetrarch Philip, but the above-named Herod, was the first husband of Herodias, the statement of Mark and Matthew is evidently a mistake. Many, indeed (among them Winer, *RWB.* art. "Philippius"), seek to explain away this mistake by assuming that they gave to this Herod the name Herod Philip, who therefore, distinct indeed from the tetrarch Philip, was meant by Mark and Matthew. But it must be admitted as very remarkable that the one name should be chosen by Josephus and the other by the New Testament writers; and yet more peculiar would it have been had the old Herod two sons with the name of Philip. If we are to reason analogically from the use of the name Herod, which several of his sons had, such reasoning will not apply here: for that was the family name. And just as little to the purpose is the analogy of the two brothers, Antipater and Antipas, for these are actually quite different names. We can therefore come to no other conclusion than this, that it must be admitted that the two evangelists made a mistake. Compare Volkmar, *Theol. Jahrbb.* 1846, pp. 363–383; Ewald, *History of Israel*, vi. 77; Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, ii. 390; Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*, iii. 47.

did not desire that his wife should know about his secret plans, he granted her wish. But scarcely had the daughter of Aretas reached Machärus, when she fled thence to her father, and let him know what friendly intentions her husband entertained regarding her. From that moment the Arabian king took up an attitude of direct opposition to Herod Antipas.[20] Nevertheless Antipas seems to have proceeded immediately with his marriage with Herodias.

At the time of this marriage, or soon thereafter, John the Baptist and Jesus Christ made their appearance, both of them carrying on their labours in the domains of Antipas, the Baptist in Perea,[21] Jesus in Galilee. Of John the Baptist, Josephus gives the following account:[22] "He was a good man,

[20] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 1.—On Machärus, see vol. i. p. 436, and § 20 toward the end. Machärus at all other periods, before and after, formed part of the Jewish territory. Alexander Jannaeus fortified it, as did also Herod the Great (*Wars of the Jews*, vii. 6. 2). Herod Antipas put John the Baptist in prison there. In the Vespasian war it was one of the best places of refuge for the rebels (*Wars of the Jews*, ii. 18. 6, vii. 6). It is therefore very remarkable that it should then have belonged to the Arabian king. The words of Josephus are as follows: *εἰς τὸν Μαχαιροῦντα τότε [al. τῷ τε*, Bekker, *conj. τὸν τῷ] πατρὶ αὐτῆς ὑποτελῆ.* It is equally remarkable that Antipas should have guilelessly allowed his wife to go to this fortress belonging to the Arabian king. Or did he consciously agree to it in order to smooth the way for her flight, wishing thus to be rid of her? Josephus did not so conceive of the matter, for according to his representation Herod Antipas knew nothing of the meditated flight. Hitzig (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, p. 567) for these reasons regards the statement that Machärus then belonged to Aretas as an interpolation. It may be, however, that, on the contrary, some words have dropped out, or that Josephus himself made a misstatement through carelessness.

[21] The scene of the Baptist's activity may have been, as Keim (*Jesus of Nazara*, ii. 231–235) supposes, for the most part on this side of Jordan, therefore in Judea. But in any case he did actually work on the other bank in Perea is proved, not only by the fourth evangelist (i. 2, 8, iii. 26, x. 40), but also by the fact of the imprisonment by Antipas. This is admitted even by Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, ii. 265, 266.

[22] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 2: *Κτείνει τοῦτον Ἡρώδης ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους κελεύοντα, ἀρετὴν ἐπασκοῦντας καὶ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβείᾳ χρωμένους, βαπτισμῷ συνιέναι· οὕτω γὰρ δὴ καὶ*

and commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to righteousness towards one another and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism. For the washing would be acceptable to Him, if they made use of it, not in order to the putting away of some sins only, but for the purification of the body; supposing still that the soul was thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness. Now, when many others came to crowd about him, for they were greatly moved by hearing his words, Herod, who feared lest the great influence John had over the people might put it into his power and inclination to raise a rebellion (for they seemed ready to do anything he should advise), thought it best by putting him to death to prevent any mischief he might cause, and not bring himself into difficulties by sparing a man who might make him repent of it when it should be too late. Accordingly he was sent a prisoner, out of Herod's suspicious temper, to Machärus, the castle I before mentioned, and was there put to death."—This account by Josephus, if it really belongs originally to him, and the accounts of the New Testament about the Baptist and his relation with the tetrarch Herod, mutually supplement one another. What Josephus says about the contents of the Baptist's preaching of repentance has indeed very much of the style of the cultured Græco-Roman world. In this respect the short statements of the synoptic Gospels are truer and more reliable.[23] On the

τὴν βάπτισιν ἀποδεκτὴν αὐτῷ φανεῖσθαι, μὴ ἐπὶ τινῶν ἁμαρτάδων παραιτήσει χρωμένων, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἁγνείᾳ τοῦ σώματος, ἅτε δὴ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς δικαιοσύνῃ προεκκεκαθαρμένης. Καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συστρεφομένων (καὶ γὰρ ἥρθησαν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῇ ἀκροάσει τῶν λόγων) δείσας Ἡρώδης τὸ ἐπὶ τοσόνδε πιθανὸν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μὴ ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει τινὶ φέροι (πάντα γὰρ ἐῴκεσαν συμβουλῇ τῇ ἐκείνου πράξοντες), πολὺ κρεῖττον ἡγεῖται, πρίν τι νεώτερον ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι, προλαβὼν ἀναιρεῖν, ἢ μεταβολῆς γενομένης εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἐμπεσὼν μετανοεῖν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑποψίᾳ τῇ Ἡρώδου δέσμιος εἰς τὸν Μαχαιροῦντα πεμφθείς, τὸ προειρημένον φρούριον, ταύτῃ κτίννυται.

[23] Compare, in explanation of the passage in Josephus: Völkmar, *Jesus Nazarenus* (1882). pp. 332–334; Klöpper, "Ein paar Bemerkungen

other hand, it is highly probable that the real occasion of the imprisonment of the Baptist by Antipas was, just as Josephus states, fear of political trouble. The powerful popular preacher did undoubtedly produce a great excitement, which was indeed first of all of a religious kind, but certainly not without the mingling of a political element. For the masses of the people were not then able to keep separate their religious and political hopes. It is therefore quite credible that Antipas feared political troubles from the labours of the Baptist, and so, when he extended his activity to Perea, cast him into prison. Nevertheless the evangelists may be right (Matt. xiv. 3 f.; Mark vi. 17; Luke iii. 19 f.) when they say that he did this because John blamed him for his marriage with Herodias. The two statements are not inconsistent with one another.[24]—The place where John was imprisoned is not named by the evangelists. From Josephus we learn that it was Machärus, the strong fortress on the east of the Dead Sea. It must then have been no longer in the possession of the Arabian king Aretas, as it was at the time of the flight

zu dem Urtheil des Josephus über Johannes den Täufer" (*Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftl. Theologie*, 1865, pp. 1–28).—Also in the almost unlimited literature on John the Baptist some notice is, as a rule, taken of this passage in Josephus. See especially Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, ii. 201–266. The earlier literature is given in Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, art. "Johannes der Täufer;" Hase, *Leben Jesu*, § 42; Reuss, *Geschichte der heil. Schriften Alten Testaments* (1881), § 561.

[24] The genuineness of the passage in Josephus is but rarely vindicated (even Volkmar sets aside without more ado; against this decision: J. Chr. K. v. Hofmann, *Die heil. Schrift Neuen Testaments*, 7 Thl. 3 Abth. *Der Brief Jakobi*, 1876, p. 4 f.). This, however, may be alleged in its favour, that the motive for imprisoning and executing the Baptist are there reported in a manner so entirely different from the account in the Gospels. But since Josephus in other passages has been certainly interpolated by a Christian hand, we cannot be here perfectly confident regarding its genuineness. Suspicion is awakened by the favourable estimate of John, who could have been viewed sympathetically by Josephus only upon one side, as an ascetic and moral preacher, but not as the prophet of the coming Messiah who powerfully moved the people.

of the first wife of Antipas, but in the possession of Herod Antipas himself. We do not indeed know in what way it had meanwhile come into his hands.[25]—According to Josephus, it would seem as if the execution of the Baptist followed immediately upon his arrestment and imprisonment. But from the Gospel narrative we see that Herod kept the Baptist a longer time in prison, being undecided as to what he should do with him.[26] At last the decision was brought about by Herodias, the chief foe of the rigid preacher of repentance. When on the occasion of the celebration of Antipas' birthday[27] in the palace of Machärus, for there it was that the

[25] Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, ii. 382; *Protestantische Kirchenzeitung*, 1869, Nr. 51, col. 1218 f., conjectures that Antipas had gained possession of the fortress in the beginning of the war against Aretas. But even apart from the fact that this supposition is possible only if one places, as Keim does, the apprehension of the Baptist close upon the outbreak of the war with Aretas, *i.e.* in A.D. 34, it is not still probable that Herod should have confined a political prisoner in a fortress that had been taken from the enemy. The word of Wieseler therefore in the *Chronological Synopsis*, pp. 216–217; *Beiträge*, pp. 5, 13; *Beweis des Glaubens*, 1870, p. 166, that Aretas has been compelled at the bidding of Tiberius to surrender the fortress to Herod, is more forcible.—Gerlach, *Zeitschrift für luth. Theologie*, 1869, pp. 49–51, believes that the fortress had never really been in the possession of Aretas, but that it was only the city of Machärus that for a long time lay under tribute to him. In this form the hypothesis is clearly impossible, since the one thing without the other is inconceivable. On the other hand, the supposition is well grounded, that the city and fortress of Machärus never belonged to Aretas, and that the statement we have been discussing originated in an error of Josephus or a corruption of our text of Josephus. See above, p. 22.—The most extraordinary of all is the idea of Sevin, that Machärus was still in the hands of Aretas when Herod Antipas imprisoned the Baptist, and had him executed in that stronghold of his father-in-law. Sevin, *Chronologie des Lebens Jesu*, 2 Aufl. p. 96; generally, pp. 90–96.

[26] Matt. xiv. 5; Mark vi. 20; Matt. xi. 2–6; compare Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, ii. 340–343; Hausrath, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, vol. i. p. 331; Weiss, *Marcusevangelium*, p. 217 f.

[27] The signification of γενέσια (Matt. xiv. 6; Mark vi. 21) is matter of controversy. See Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis*, p. 266; *Beiträge*, p. 182 f.; Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, iv. 223; Hausrath, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, vol. i. p. 334; and the commentators on Matt. xiv. 6; Mark

whole business was carried out,[28] a great banquet was given, the daughter of Herodias, Salome (she was still a κοράσιον,

vi. 21. Instead of the ordinary morning "birthday," many expositors understand it to mean the anniversary day of his accession to the throne." But an instance of this meaning cannot with certainty be got in the whole range of Greek literature; and even the rabbinical material, from which they seek support, is very weak. The principal passage in *Mishna Aboda sara* i. 3: "The following are the festivals of the heathen: The *Calendae* and the *Saturnalia* and the κράτησις (קרטיסים), and the day of the γενέσια of the king (יום ניניסיא של מלכים), and the day of birth and the day of death. So R. Meir. The learned say: Only a case of death, wherein there evidently appears the scorching of fire, is accompanied by an idolatrous sacrifice; but where this is not the case there is no idol sacrifice." An explanation of the expressions used is not given in the Mishna. In the Palestinian Talmud (*Jer. Aboda sara* i. fol. 39*c*), יום ניניסיא is interpreted by יום הלידה, "birthday." In the Babylonian Talmud (*Bab. Aboda sara* 10 *a*) there is a regular discussion over the meaning of the phrase, in which the reasons in favour of the meaning "birthday" are brought forward, but finally preference is given to the interpretation: יום שמעמידין בו מלך, "the day on which the king ascended the throne" (see Levy, *Neuhebr. Wörterbuch*, i. 394*a*, and the literal production of the whole discussion in the German translation in *Abodah Sarah*, translated by Ferd. Chr. Ewald, 2 Ausg. 1868, p. 70 f.). Upon this only is grounded the interpretation, "the anniversary of the accession to the throne," adopted by many modern scholars. But since the Palestinians undoubtedly knew better about such matters than the Babylonians, who for the most part only guessed without accurately knowing, the interpretation of the Babylonians should not be accepted when it is in opposition to all other instances. So also Dalman, *Theolog. Literaturzeitung*, 1889, 172, in his review of Strack's *Aboda sara*. Also the connection of the context of the Mishna is in favour of the interpretation "birthday." For קרטיסים is most probably the anniversary of the obtaining of the government. Therefore ניניסיא must be distinguished from it. But alongside of it is mentioned "the day of birth," as further investigation of the Mishna shows, not the anniversary of the birth, but only that particular day on which a child is born. On the custom of celebrating the birthday anniversary in general, see Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, art. "Natalis dies;" Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, Bd. i. 1879, p. 244 f.

[28] The Gospels of Matthew and Mark evidently assume that the banquet was given in the same place where the Baptist lay a prisoner. See Meyer on Matt. xiv. 10 ff. But that was Machärus. And there the banquet may, in fact, have been given. For Machärus had a beautiful palace, which had been built by Herod the Great (*Wars of the Jews*, vii. 6. 2). There is therefore no reason for transferring the scene to Julias, as is done by Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis*, pp. 220, 221;

Matt. xiv. 11; Mark vi. 22, 28; therefore not yet married to Philip), by her dancing so delighted the tetrarch, that he promised to fulfil to her any wish she might express. At the instigation of her mother, she demanded the head of the Baptist. Herod was weak enough to gratify the wish immediately, and to give orders that the Baptist should be beheaded in the prison at Machärus.[29]

Beiträge, p. 5. The Gospels are silent in regard to the place; for from Mark vi. 21 it is not necessarily to be concluded, as Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, iv. 217; *Bibellexikon*, iii. 48; and Volkmar, *Die Evangelien*, p. 369, think, that Mark assumes Galilee, that is, Tiberius, as the scene of the transaction.

[29] Matt. xiv. 6–11; Mark vi. 21–28; Luke ix. 9.—In Mark vi. 22 some very important and authoritative tests, accepted by Westcott and Hort and Volkmar, read: τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ Ἡρωδιάδος. According to this reading the maiden herself was called Herodias, and may have been a daughter of Herod Antipas, and not merely the daughter of Herodias. But a child of the marriage of Antipas with Herodias could not then have been more than two years old; whereas, on the other hand, we know from Josephus that Herodias by her first marriage had a daughter called Salome (*Antiq.* xviii. 5. 4). Also in the Gospel narrative itself the maiden appears only as a daughter of Herodias. The statement, therefore, that would result from that reading of Mark, cannot in any case be regarded as historically correct, be that reading ever so old.—On the imprisonment and execution of the Baptist generally, compare Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, ii. 329 ff., iv. 215 ff.; Sevin, *Chronologie des Lebens Jesu*, pp. 124–128.—The narrative of the Gospels contains much that arouses suspicion; especially that Salome is still designated a κοράσιον, whereas we are informed by Josephus that she had been married long before A.D. 28–30 to the tetrarch Philip, who had begun his reign in B.C. 4, and had died in A.D. 34 (see above, p. 16). But just the weakest point in the Gospel story is proved on more careful examination to be not improbable. The facts derived from Josephus are gathered together in the following summary by Gutschmid (*Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1874, p. 522, in his review of Brann's, *Die Söhne des Herodes*): "Aristobulus, Salome's second husband, was a son of Herod of Chalcis, by Mariam, the daughter of Joseph and Olympias, a sister of Archelaus, who had married after B.C. 7, but before B.C. 4. Therefore, at the earliest, Miriam's son Aristobulus could not have been born before B.C. 5, and not likely before A.D. 14. This affords us incidentally dates for determining the age of Salome, whom we should not without necessity regard as much older than Aristobulus, since her second marriage, by which she was mother of three sons, was evidently one in which the partners were of similar age. Philip, her first husband, had in B.C. 4 or 3

Even before John had been removed from the scene, the "*Mightier*," to whom he had pointed, had already made His appearance, and had begun to preach the gospel in Galilee. He, too, could not remain unnoticed by the nobles of the land. Yet Antipas first heard of the deeds of Jesus after the Baptist had been put to death. Hence, tormented by his evil conscience, he felt convinced that the Baptist had risen again, and was continuing his dangerous and revolutionary work.[30] In order to make sure whether this was so, he desired to see the miracle-worker who preached in Capernaum, and attracted all the people.[31] He meant in time to get rid of Him, not, however, by violence, but by craft. He won over to him the Pharisees, and got them to undertake the attempt to induce Jesus voluntarily to quit the country by representing to Him that Herod sought His life.[32] The plan was indeed very craftily conceived; but it failed in execution, because Jesus saw through it. Subsequently, indeed, Jesus did quit Galilee in order to take His death journey to Jerusalem. There also Antipas, who was at that time living at Jerusalem that he might keep the Passover, had the satisfaction of meeting with his mysterious subject. Pilate sent the prisoner to him, in order that he, as ruler of the province, might pronounce the

reached such an age as to be capable of assuming the reins of government, and so must have been born at latest in B.C. 21. Though a great disparity of age between the two undoubtedly existed, we cannot, without making a most improbable hypothesis, suppose the difference to have been more than thirty years; this would give as the latest date for the birth of Salome, A.D. 10." Gutschmid therefore assumes that Salome was born in A.D. 10, and regards it as quite possible that she was still a κοράσιον in A.D. 28, and that in her nineteenth year she married Philip, who was in his forty-ninth year.

[30] Matt. xiv. 1 f.; Mark vi. 14–16; Luke ix. 7–9.

[31] Luke ix. 9.—Among the female followers of Christ there is mentioned the wife of an officer of Antipas (Luke viii. 3: Ἰωάννα γυνὴ Χουζᾶ ἐπιτρόπου Ἡρῴδου).

[32] So at least is Luke xiii. 31, 32 understood by many expositors. This interpretation, too, is correct; compare Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, iv. 344.

death sentence clamoured for by the Jewish hierarchy. Antipas, however, would not lend himself to this scheme, but contented himself with pouring contempt upon Jesus, and sending Him back again to Pilate.[33]

The chronology of the public ministry of the Baptist and of Jesus Christ, which has hitherto been based for the most part on Luke iii. 1 and John ii. 20, has been in recent times completely turned upside down by Keim.[34] Whereas previously almost the only subject of contention had been whether the year 30 or the year 31 was the year of Christ's death, Keim sets down the execution of the Baptist in the end of A.D. 34 (*Jesus of Nazara*, vi. 226, 232), the death of Christ at Easter of A.D. 35 (*Jesus of Nazara*, vi. 232). His chief argument is the following. Josephus remarked (*Antiq.* xviii. 5. 2) that the defeat which Herod Antipas sustained in the war with the Arabian king Aretas in A.D. 36, was considered by the people as a judgment for the execution of John the Baptist. Accordingly, says Keim, the execution must be placed as near as possible to the year 36; and since, in view of the deposition of Pilate before Easter A.D. 36, Jesus must have been put to death not later than Easter A.D. 35, and the execution of the Baptist must be put down as occurring in the end of the year 34. There is also one other reason for insisting upon this late dating of these events. The attack of Aretas upon Antipas was an act of vengeance on the part of Aretas, because his daughter had been divorced by Antipas. Hence both events must have occurred very nearly about the same time. And, seeing that the execution of the Baptist could not have occurred until after the divorce of the daughter of Aretas and the marriage with Herodias, the death of the Baptist and of Christ could not for this reason have occurred in A.D. 29 and 30 respectively.

Against this theory Wieseler particularly has urged a series

[33] Luke xxiii. 7–12. Compare Gerlach, *Zeitschrift für luth. Theologie*, 1869, pp. 40–42; Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, vi. 103–105.

[34] See *Der geschichtliche Christus* (3 Aufl. 1866), pp. 224–240; *Jesus of Nazara*, ii. 381, vi. 220; *Protestantische Kirchenzeitung*, 1869, Nr. 49 and 51.—Keim is supported by Holtzmann, Hausrath, Sevin, Schenkel, and in all essential points by Hitzig, who reckons indeed A.D. 36 as the year of Jesus' death. See the summary of conclusions in Keim, vi. 226, 240; also in Sevin, *Chronologie des Lebens Jesu*, 2 Aufl. 1874.—Against Keim, see especially: Wieseler, *Beiträge* (1869), pp. 3–16; *Beweis des Glaubens*, 1870, pp. 163–173.

of arguments which indeed are not all of a convincing character. He seeks especially as the ground of Agrippa's residence with Antipas (see under § 18) to prove that the marriage with Herodias occurred at an earlier date. When Agrippa had been appointed by Antipas agoranomos of Tiberius, Antipas was already married to Herodias. Afterwards Agrippa was sent away by Antipas, and then stayed for a long time with Flaccus, the legate of Syria, and then went to Rome, where he, or rather his freedman Eutychus, became intimate with the city prefect Piso (*Antiq.* xviii. 6. 2–5). Seeing then—so argues Wieseler—that Flaccus died in A.D. 33, Piso having previously died in A.D. 32, the marriage with Herodias must have taken place before A.D. 32, Wieseler thinks in A.D. 29. But we saw already that that Piso was not the man who died in A.D. 32, but a later one, and that Flaccus possibly, indeed probably, did not die till A.D. 35 (see vol. i. pp. 360–364). By these arguments, therefore, nothing can be proved.

But the rock upon which Keim's chronology suffered shipwreck is the definite statement of Luke iii. 1, that the Baptist made his appearance before the public in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, *i.e.* between August A.D. 28 and August A.D. 29; which statement indeed Keim rejects as unworthy of belief. The tendency now is not to overestimate the trustworthiness of Luke, and certainly in reference to the tracing of Quirinius he has erred grievously. But it is surely impossible that in this case an error of five full years should have been made. Evidently Luke took great care in examining into this particular date. We have here therefore before us, not so much his opinion, as that of the entire Christendom of his time.[35] Can it be thought possible that all Christendom was wrong to the extent of five full years about the date of their Lord's death? More powerful reasons must be given than those brought forward from Josephus before we can feel justified in adopting such a view.

The reasons advanced by Josephus are indeed nothing less than convincing. This is at least correct, and also generally

[35] Probably the result of Luke's investigations was this, that Christ died at Easter A.D. 30. From this datum he then reckons back one year; for he only allows one year for the public ministry (Luke iv. 19–21), and so reaches the 15th year of Tiberius as the date of the public appearance of the Baptist and Christ.—In any case it is the year 30 that John, ii. 20, points out as the date of Christ's death; only that John, who assumes a two years' activity of Christ, places the beginning of His ministry in A.D. 28. Compare vol. i. p. 410.

admitted, that the defeat of Antipas in A.D. 36 took place somewhere about half a year before the death of Tiberius, in March A.D. 37. But that the people could not have regarded it as a divine judgment for the execution of the Baptist, seeing that that event was now seven years past, cannot be maintained. A couple of years more would in this matter make no difference. For Pharisaism was wont to discover such causal connections after the expiry of very long periods indeed. Further, that the divorce of the daughter of Aretas, followed by the marriage with Herodias, and the war with the Arabian king, must have followed immediately upon one another, still remains a point that cannot be proved. Josephus says expressly, that only from the divorce is to be dated the beginning of the hostility between Antipas and Aretas (*Antiq.* xviii. 5. 1: ὃ δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔχθρας ταύτην ποιησάμενος), and that after additional reasons arose, such as contentions about boundaries. Even Keim himself admits the possibility of setting down the marriage to A.D. 32–33 (*Jesus of Nazara*, ii. 397). Why then not to the year 29, if once an interval of several years has to be admitted? Hausrath, who in other respects agrees with Keim, put it back as far as the year 27, and in this way deprives himself of the main ground upon which he had supported his position (*Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, vol. i. p. 326, 328).

Upon the whole, therefore, we feel entitled to hold by the statements of the New Testament, and to place the death of Christ at Easter A.D. 30, that of the Baptist in A.D. 29, and the marriage of Herodias somewhat earlier, perhaps in A.D. 29, perhaps even some years earlier (Gutschmid, *Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1874, Sp. 523, places it about A.D. 26).

The connection with Herodias brought little good to Antipas. The Arabian king Aretas could not forget that Antipas on her account had repudiated his daughter. The feud arising from this cause was increased through boundary disputes about Galaaditis,—for so we should read the name rather than Gamalitis.[36] Finally, in A.D. 36 the misunder-

[36] The district of Gamala belonged to what had been the tetrarchy of Philip, and cannot therefore have been a subject of contention between Antipas and Aretas. On the other hand, the province of Galaaditis (Gilead) lay on the borders of their territories. But from ΓΑΛΑΑΔΙΤΙΣ the other word ΓΑΜΑΛΙΤΙΣ might easily be made. Undoubtedly the text of the passage in question (*Antiq.* xviii. 5. 1) is defective. Compare Keim in the *Protestantische Kirchenzeitung*, 1869, Nr. 51, col. 1218.

standing between the two neighbours broke out into the war which ended in the utter destruction of the army of Antipas.[37] The conquered monarch had now no other resource but to complain of his victorious opponent to the Emperor Tiberius.[38]

When Tiberius heard of the bold proceedings of the Arabian prince, he gave Vitellius, governor of Syria, express orders to gain possession of Aretas, dead or alive. Vitellius had indeed little heart to enter on the expedition, for he was not greatly drawn toward Antipas. But he could not oppose the imperial command, and so he prepared himself for the war against Aretas. After he had ordered his army to march round about Judea to Petra, he himself went on a visit to Jerusalem, where a feast was then being celebrated, probably that of the Passover.[39] He waited in that city three days. On the fourth, he received news of the death of Tiberius, which had taken place on 16th March A.D. 37. He considered himself thereby released from his undertaking, and turned back with his army to Antioch.[40] Thus the defeat of Antipas remained unavenged.

About this time we find our Jewish tetrarch present on one occasion at the Euphrates during important negotiations between Vitellius and the king of the Parthians. But it seems that the account of this affair in Josephus is not free from error. We know, for instance, that in the years 35 and 36 the Parthian king Artabanus had to do repeatedly with the Romans. His affairs seemed to be taking a favourable

[37] The date is derived from this, that the defeat of Antipas, as what follows shows, took place not long—somewhere about half a year—before the death of Tiberius in March A.D. 37.

[38] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 1.

[39] Compare Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, vi. 227; Sevin, *Chronologie des Lebens Jesu*, 2 Aufl. pp. 75–77.

[40] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 1–3. Since the imperial legates had their office only at the personal will of the emperor, so, strictly taken, every command ceased with the death of the emperor. See Mommsen, *Römische Staatsrecht*, 1 Aufl. ii. 1, 235, ii. 2. 873.

turn when, by the threats of Vitellius and the revolt of his own subjects, he was obliged to betake himself to flight into the remoter provinces. In consequence of this, Vitellius, in the summer of A.D. 36, went to the Euphrates along with the pretender Tiridates, supported by the Romans, and established him as king over the Parthians. Nevertheless, before the end of that same year, Artabanus returned, drove out Tiridates, and secured the government again to himself.[41] Subsequently Vitellius arranged a meeting with Artabanus at the Euphrates, at which Artebanus concluded a peace with the Romans, and in pledge thereof, sent his son Darius to Rome as a hostage.[42] At this meeting, according to Josephus, Herod Antipas was also present. He entertained Vitellius and Artabanus in a magnificent tent erected upon the Euphrates bridge, and hastened, as soon as the negotiations were concluded, to communicate the favourable result to the emperor,—a piece of officiousness which annoyed Vitellius at him exceedingly, since he had thereby completely anticipated his official report.[43] —Thus Josephus places this meeting in the time of Tiberius, and considers that the quarrel arising out of this between Vitellius and Herod Antipas was the reason why Vitellius, after the death of Tiberius, immediately abandoned the campaign against Aretas. But Suetonius and Dio Cassius say expressly, and the silence of Tacitus, in the sixth book of his *Annals*, indirectly proves, that the meeting between Vitellius and Artabanus took place under Caligula. Josephus therefore is certainly in one particular in error. The only question is, in what particular. If it is correct that Herod

[41] Tacitus, *Annals*, vi. 31–37, 41–44. With respect to the date, compare also: *Annals*, vi. 38; Dio Cassius, lviii. 26; Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 4. —The fixing of the date results from the statement of Tacitus.

[42] Suetonius, *Caligula*, 14, *Vitellius*, 2; Dio Cassius, lix. 27; Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 5. Besides Josephus, Dio Cassius, lix. 17, and Suetonius, *Caligula*, 19, speak of Darius as present in Rome in A.D. 39

[43] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 5.

Antipas took part in the Parthian negotiations on the Euphrates in the time of Tiberius, then these must have been the negotiations between Vitellius and Tiridates in the summer of A.D. 36 (Tacitus, *Annals*, vi. 37). But if it is correct that he took part in the negotiations between Vitellius and Artabanus, it cannot have been before the time of Caligula. The latter supposition is most probably the true account of the matter. For in summer A.D. 36 Herod was engaged in the war against Aretas.[44]

If Antipas had his passion for Herodias to thank as the real occasion of his defeat and damage at the hand of Aretas, the ambition of this wife of his brought about at last the loss of his government and of his freedom. One of the first acts of the new Emperor Caligula on his taking the reins of government into his hands was to assign to Agrippa, the brother of Herodias, what had been the tetrarchy of Philip, together with the title of king. Agrippa at first remained still at Rome. But in the second year of Caligula, March A.D. 38 to March A.D. 39, he went to Palestine, and made his appearance there as king. The success of the adventurer, whose fortunes had once been at so low an ebb, and who had even himself sought aid at the hand of Antipas, excited the envy of Herodias, who therefore insisted upon her husband seeking also from the emperor the royal title. Herod Antipas was not very much disposed to go forth on such an errand. At last, however, he was obliged to yield to the persistent entreaty of his wife, and proceeded to Rome, accompanied by Herodias, to prosecute

[44] Compare Hitzig, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 568; Hausrath, *Zeitgeschichte*, 2 Aufl. ii. 209–211. Also Ussher and Tillemont (*Histoire des Empereurs*, vol. i. Venise 1732, p. 139 sq., and note 4 on Caligula) express the same opinion. Compare on the Parthian history generally: Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans und seiner Nachbarländer*, 1888, and the literature referred to there on p. 171 f. A list of original documents is given in Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, ii. 1850, pp. 243–263. On the relations between the Romans and Parthians, see also Schiller, *Geschichte der röm. Kaiserzeit*, Bd. i.; and Mommsen, *Röm. Geschichte*, Bd. v. p. 339 ff.

his suit. But they were immediately followed by a representative of Agrippa, Fortunatus, with a document containing charges against Herod Antipas, in which he was accused of old and recent offences, of having made a compact with Sejanus (who died in A.D. 31), and with the Parthian king Artabanus. In proof of these charges, his accuser pointed to the accumulation of arms made by Antipas. Both parties came at the same time before Caligula at Baiae. When the emperor had heard the petition of Antipas and the accusations against him, he asked Antipas how it was that he had made such a collection of arms. And when Antipas could give no proper account of this, Caligula credited also the other charges, deposed Antipas from his tetrarchy, and banished him to Lyons in Gaul. He wished to allow Herodias, as the sister of Agrippa, to live on her private estate. But the proud woman scorned the imperial favour, and followed her husband into his exile. As a new proof of imperial favour, the tetrarchy was conferred upon the accuser Agrippa.[45] Herod

[45] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 7. 1–2; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 6. The latter passage contains some inaccuracies, which are corrected in the *Antiquities*, namely: (1) According to the *Wars of the Jews*, Agrippa himself immediately followed Antipas to Rome, where, according to the *Antiquities*, he sent Fortunatus; (2) According to the *Wars of the Jews*, Antipas was banished to Spain; but, according to the *Antiquities*, to Lugdunum in Gaul. The difference in reference to the place is not to be explained away, whether one understands by Lugdunum the modern Lyons (which is certainly correct), or *Lugdunum Convenarum*, on the northern slope of the Pyrenees, which also belonged to Gaul (so, *e.g.*, Schiller, *Geschichte der röm. Kaiserzeit*, i. 383). Lewin (*Fasti Sacri*, n. 1561) conjectures that the definite judgment of Caligula had not been given forth before his visit to Lyons in A.D. 40, and that Josephus confounded the place where the sentence was given with the place of banishment,—an artificial hypothesis which only burdens Josephus with a more grievous error in order to exonerate him from a less serious one. The time of the deposition of Antipas is determined partly from *Antiq.* xviii. 7. 1–2 compared with 6. 11, partly from xix. 8. 2. In the latter passage it is said of Agrippa: Τέτταρας μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Γαΐου Καίσαρος ἐβασίλευσεν ἐνιαυτούς, τῆς Φιλίππου μὲν τετραρχίας εἰς τριετίαν ἀρξας, τῷ τετάρτῳ δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἡρῴδου προσειληφώς. Seeing then that Caligula reigned from March A.D. 37 till January A.D. 41,

Antipas died in banishment. A confused statement in Dio

Agrippa obtained the tetrarchy of Antipas in the beginning of A.D. 40.—But, according to *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 11, Agrippa had returned to Palestine in the second year of Caligula, between March A.D. 38 and March A.D. 39, and had the benefit of the trade winds (ἐτησίαι, Philo, *In Flaccum*, sec. 5, ed. Mangey, ii. 521), which from the 20th July blew for thirty days (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* ii. 47). Consequently he may, since he had on his way paid a visit to Alexandria (Philo, *l.c.*), have arrived in Palestine about the end of September A.D. 38. Seeing then that the deposition of Antipas was closely connected with the appearance of Agrippa, it would seem that it must have taken place, if not in A.D. 38, at least in A.D. 39. In fact, it can be proved that it actually occurred not earlier and not later than the summer of A.D. 39. Not earlier: for the forty-third year of Antipas, of which we have coins extant, only began with 1st Nisan 792 A.U.C., A.D. 39. But also not later. Caligula was absent from Rome from autumn A.D. 39 till 31st August A.D. 40 on an expedition to Gaul, Germany, and Britain (Dio Cassius, lix. 21–25; Suetonius, *Caligula*, 17, 43–49: his entry into Rome "*natali suo*," *i.e.* 31st August, see Suetonius, *Caligula*, 8). Seeing then that the deposition of Antipas took place while Caligula was at Baiae, and seeing also, according to Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 8. 2, that it cannot have occurred after the German campaign, it must have happened before that campaign, *i.e.* before autumn A.D. 39. It is indeed impossible that it should have taken place only after the German campaign, for Agrippa, from autumn A.D. 40 till Caligula's death, resided again near to the emperor (Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 35 ff., ed. Mangey, ii. 584 ff.; Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 7 ff.; Dio Cassius, lix. 24; compare also § 17 *c.* and § 18 of the present work), whereas at the time of the deposition of Antipas he was in Palestine. It is also shown to be impossible by this other fact, that, according to Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 41, ed. Mangey, ii. 593, Agrippa was in autumn A.D. 40 already in possession of Galilee. Compare also Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 4, from which it may be concluded that Tiberias then no longer belonged to Herod Antipas. In A.D. 39 Caligula was twice in Campania (at Baiae and Puteoli). The one visit is referred to in Dio Cassius, lix. 13; the other, in Dio Cassius, lix. 17. See also Suetonius, *Caligula*, 19. After his second absence, however, he was again at Rome on the occasion of his birthday, 31st August (Dio Cassius, lix. 20; Suetonius, *Caligula*, 26), after which he went forth on the German expedition. The deposition of Antipas took place at Baiae therefore before the 31st August A.D. 39. But, seeing that Agrippa only obtained the tetrarchy of Antipas in the beginning of A.D. 40 (Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 8. 2), we may fairly assume, with Noris (*Opp.* ii. 622 sq.) and Wieseler (*Chronologie des Apostolischen Zeitalters*, p. 130), an interval of several months to have occurred between the deposition of Antipas and the conferring of his tetrarchy upon Agrippa, and that this latter event did not take place until the time of the Gallo-German campaign of

Cassius seems to imply that he was put to death by Caligula.[46]

c. ARCHELAUS, B.C. 4—A.D. 6. HIS TERRITORY UNDER ROMAN PROCURATORS, A.D. 6—A.D. 41.

SOURCES.

JOSEPHUS, *Antiq.* xvii. 13, xviii. 1–4. 8; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 7–10.
PHILO, *De legatione ad Cajum* (*Opera*, ed. Mangey, ii. 545–600).
On the coins, see below.

LITERATURE.

EWALD, *History of Israel*, v. 449–457, vii. 235–257.
GEIKIE, *Life and Words of Christ*, i. 263–272.
GRÄTZ, *Geschichte der Juden*, 4 Aufl. iii. pp. 253–271, 315–317, 341–344.
HITZIG, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 562 f., 573–583.
HAUSRATH, *Zeitgeschichte*, 2 Aufl. i. 287–308, ii. 199–270.
KEIM, *Jesus of Nazara*, i. 253–262, ii. 223, vi. 79, 183, 227; and art. "Archelaus" in Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*, iii. 38–40.

Caligula.—Compare generally: Noris, *De nummo Herodis Antipae* (*Opera*, ii. col. 646–665); Sanclemente, *De vulgaris aerae emendatione*, pp. 307–315. —On the coins of Herod bearing what is supposed to be the year number 44, which would require an extension of his reign down to A.D. 40, see above, vol. i. p. 466, and the present vol. pp. 20, 21. Were the existence of this coin well established, we should be obliged, with Lewin, to assign the deposition of Antipas, not to the period of Caligula's residence at Baiae, but to the period of his Gallic campaign, and so to assume a serious error in Josephus.

[46] Dio Cassius, lix. 8 (*Caligula*): Ἀγρίππαν τὸν τοῦ Ἡρώδου ἔγγονον λύσας τε . . . καὶ τῇ τοῦ πάππου ἀρχῇ προστάξας, τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἢ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν οὐχ ὅτι τῶν πατρῴων ἀπεστέρησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατέσφαξε. Although the relationship is not very clearly expressed, the reference can only be to Herod Antipas. To execute those whom he banished was a common custom with Caligula, Suetonius, *Caligula*, 28; Dio Cassius, lix. 18; Philo, *In Flaccum*, sec. 21, ed. Mangey, ii. 543; Lewin, *Fasti sacri*, n. 1562.—According to Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 6, Antipas died in banishment in Spain. Instead of Spain we are to read, according to *Antiq.* xviii. 7. 2, Lugdunum in Gaul. For one has no right so to combine contradictory statements of Josephus that a later removal of the banished one from Lyons to Spain may be assumed.

GERLACH, *Zeitschrift für luth. Theologie*, 1869, pp. 30–32; *Die römischen Statthalter in Syrien und Judäa*, pp. 44–48, 53–65.

WINER, *Realwörterbuch*, i. 82 f. (Archelaus), and ii. 261–263 (Pilatus).

BRANN, *Die Söhne des Herodes*, 1873 (reprint from the *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*), pp. 1–16.

LEWIN, *Fasti Sacri, ad ann.*, 4 B.C.–41 A.D.

MOMMSEN, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 508 ff.

KELLNER, *Die römische Statthalter von Syrien und Judäa*. 2. Art. *Die kaiserlichen Procuratoren von Judäa* (*Zeitschrift für kathol. Theologie*, 1888, p. 630 ff.).

KELLNER, *Politische und administrative Zustände von Palästina zur Zeit Christi* (*Der Katholik*, 1888, i. pp. 47–63). A summary of the history during the time of Pompey.

MENKE, *Bibelatlas*, Bl. V. Special map of Judea and neighbouring countries in the time of Pontius Pilate.

Judea proper with Samaria and Idumea (including the large cities of Caesarea, Samaria, Joppa, and Jerusalem, but excluding Gaza, Gadara, and Hippos) was in the partition assigned to Archelaus, the elder[1] brother of Antipas, not indeed, as Herod had intended, with the title of king, but only with that of an ethnarch.[2] Yet Augustus promised him the kingdom if he should prove himself to be worthy of it.[3] Archelaus also, like Antipas, named himself on the coins and elsewhere by the family name of Herod.[4]

[1] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, i. 32. 7, 33. 7.

[2] He is inaccurately styled βασιλεύς in Matt. ii. 22, and in Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 3.

[3] Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 11. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 6. 3.

[4] By Josephus he is never indeed called Herod, but he is so called by Dio Cassius, lv. 27. That the coins with the inscription ΗΡΩΔΟΥ ΕΘΝΑΡΧΟΥ belong to him cannot be doubted, for no other Herodian besides him bore the title of ethnarch. This was first of all recognised by Scipio Maffeius, *Antt. Gall.* p. 113 (quoted by Eckhel, iii. 484). Eckhel is at least inclined to agree with him ("Forte verior est conjectura Scipionis Maffeii," etc.). It is now admitted by all scholars. Compare on these coins generally: Cavedoni, *Biblische Numismatik*, i. 53, 57 f., ii. 32 f.; De Saulcy, *Recherches*, p. 133 sq.; Levy, *Geschichte der jüd. Münzen*, p. 73 f.; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 91–95; Cavedoni in Grote's *Münzstudien*, v. 25 f.; De Saulcy, *Numismatic Chronicle*,

Among the sons of Herod he procured for himself the worst reputation. His rule was violent and tyrannical.[5] He set up and removed the high priests at his pleasure.[6] He gave special offence by his marriage with Glaphyra, daughter of the Cappadocian king Archelaus. She had been married first to Alexander, the half-brother of Archelaus, executed in B.C. 7. See vol. i. p. 456 of this work. After his death she was married to Juba, king of Mauritania.[7] Upon the

1871, pp. 248-250; Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1875, 45 sq.; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, pp. 114–118.

[5] Ὠμότης καὶ τυραννίς are charged against him in *Antiq.* xvii. 13. 2. Compare also *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 7. 3.

[6] Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 13. 1.

[7] It is this same one who made himself known as a writer. Reports about him and the fragments of his writings are collected by Müller, *Fragmenta Histor. Graec.* iii. 465–484. Compare also Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, 2 ed. iii. 578 sq.: Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, iv. 315; Nicolai, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, ii. 185 f.; La Blanchère, *De rege Juba regis Jubae filio*, Paris 1883, and the literature referred to there.—Juba as a child (βρέφος, App.; κομιδῇ νήπιος, Plut.) was led in triumph by Caesar in B.C. 46 (Appian, ii. 101; Plutarch, *Caesar*, c. 55). In B.C. 29 he obtained from Augustus his father's kingdom of Numidia (Dio Cassius, li. 15). Four years later, in B.C. 25, Augustus gave him instead of that the lands of Bocchus and Boguas (Mauritania Tingitana and Caesariensis), and a part of Gätulia (Dio Cassius, liii. 26). He was still living in A.D. 18 (Müller, iii. 466), and, as is proved by the evidence of the coins, did not die before A.D. 23 (Mommsen, *Ephemeris epigr.* i. 278; Marquardt, *Römisches Staatsverwaltung*, i. 1881, p. 482; Rühl, *Jahrbb. für class. Philol.* 117 Bd. 1878, pp. 542–544. Rühl succeeds in proving, in opposition to Niese in *Hermes*, xiii. 1878, p. 35 f., Anm., that Juba died in A.D. 23. Schiller in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, xv. 497 f.; Paul Meyer, *Leipziger Studien zur class. Philol.* ii. 1879, p. 72; Vogel, *Philologus*, Bd. 41, 1882, p. 517; La Blanchère, *De rege Juba*, p. 85 [all in favour of A.D. 23].—The marriage with Glaphyra occurred probably between B.C. 1 and A.D. 4, if the conjecture of Müller is correct that Juba accompanied C. Caesar on his Oriental expedition, and on that occasion became acquainted with Glaphyra.—An inscription at Athens, filled up as follows by Mommsen, probably refer to Glaphyra (*Ephemeris epigr.* i. 277 sq. = *Corp. Inscr. Attic.* iii. 1, n. 549):—

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ [ὁ δῆμος]
βασίλισσαν [Γλαφύραν]
Ἀρχελάου δυγ[ατέρα, Ἰόβα]
γυναῖκα [ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα].

dissolution of this marriage,[8] Glaphyra lived in her father's house. There Archelaus became acquainted with her, fell in love with her, and took her to be his wife, for he divorced his own wife Mariamme. Seeing that Glaphyra had children by Alexander, the marriage was unlawful, and therefore gave great offence.[9] The marriage was not indeed of long duration, for Glaphyra died soon after her arrival in Judea,[10] after having had a remarkable dream, in which her first husband, Alexander, appeared to her, and made known to her her approaching death.[11]

It will almost go without saying that Archelaus as son of Herod engaged upon great building enterprises. The palace at Jericho was restored in the most magnificent style. An aqueduct was built to lead the water necessary for the palm-groves, which he had laid out anew in the plain north of Jericho, from the village of Neara. He also founded a city, and called it in honour of himself Archelais.[12]

But these beautiful and useful undertakings could not reconcile his subjects to his misgovernment. After tolerating his

[8] Josephus says "after the death of Juba," which, however, is wrong. See previous note.

[9] Compare generally *Antiq.* xvii. 13. 1 and 4; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 7. 4.

[10] Μετ' ὀλίγον τοῦ ἀφίξεως χρόνον, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 7. 4.

[11] Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 13. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 7. 4.

[12] Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 13. 1.—On the palm-groves near Jericho, see vol. i. p. 423; on the village of Archelais, see Div. II. vol. i. p. 122. It lay, according to the *tabula Peutinger.* (ed. Konr. Miller, 1888), on the road from Jericho to Scythopolis, 12 Roman miles north of Jericho, 12+12 Roman miles south of Scythopolis. Seeing that the actual distance between was somewhere about 15 Roman miles, an error has somewhere crept into the figures. If we assume that the statement of the distance between Jericho and Archelais as 12 Roman miles is correct, then Archelais must have been a little south of Phasaelis, not north, as is generally supposed. The following fact is in favour of such a view. Archelais, like Phasaelis, was celebrated for its palm-groves (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 2; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xiii. 4. 44). We may therefore actually seek the palm-groves anew laid out by Archelaus, for which he

rule for more than nine years, a deputation of the Jewish and Samaritan aristocracy set out for Rome, in order to lay their complaints against him before Augustus. The points in their accusation must have been very serious; for the emperor felt himself obliged to summon Archelaus to Rome, and, after having heard him, to depose him from his government, and banish him to Vienne in Gaul in A.D. 6. To him also, as to his wife, his fate had been foretold by a remarkable dream.[13]

The territory of Archelaus was taken under immediate Roman rule, for it was attached to the province of Syria, but received a governor of its own from the equestrian order.[14] In consequence of this arrangement the condition of Judea became essentially changed. Herod the Great and his sons had in spite of all their friendship for the Romans considerable respect for and understanding of the national traditions and peculiarities of the Jews, so that they, apart from individual exceptions, did not wantonly wound the most sacred sensibilities of the people. Common prudence demanded in regard to such matters care and consideration. The Romans, on the

brought water from Neara, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Archelais founded by him. But Neara is most probably identical with the place called by Eusebius (*Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 283) Νοοράθ, which was only 5 Roman miles distant from Jericho. Therefore also Archelias would not be too far from it.

[13] Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 13. 2-3; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 7. 3; Dio Cassius, lv. 27. Without mentioning the name of Archelaus, Strabo, xvi. 2. 46, p. 765, says that a son of Herod ἐν φυγῇ διετίλει παρὰ τοῖς Ἀλλοβριξὶ Γαλάταις λαβὼν οἴκησιν. Vienne, south of Lyons, was the capital of the Allobrogi.—As regards the chronology, Dio Cassius, lv. 27, places the banishment of Archelaus in the consulship of Aemilius Lepidus and Lucius Arruntius, A.D. 6. With this agree the statements of Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 13. 2, that it occurred in the tenth year, or, according to the *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 7. 3, in the ninth year of Archelaus.—According to a statement of Jerome, the grave of Archelaus was pointed out near Bethlehem (*Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 101: "sed et propter eandem Bethleem regis quondam Judaeae Archelai tumulus ostenditur"). If this be correct, he must have died in Palestine.

[14] Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 13. 5, xviii. 1. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 8. 1.

other hand, had scarcely any appreciation of what was peculiar to the Jewish nationality. As the religious views of the Pharisees and the accumulation of traditions which encompassed the daily life of the people like a net were altogether unknown to the Romans, they could not at all understand how a whole people would offer the most persistent resistance even unto death, and would suffer annihilation on account of merely ceremonial rites and what seemed matters of indifference. The Jews again saw in the simplest rules of administration, such as the proposal of a census made at the very beginning, an encroachment upon the most sacred rights of the people, and from day to day the feeling more and more gained ground that the immediate government of the Romans, which at the death of Herod they had wished for,[15] was irreconcilable with the principles of the theocracy. Thus, even had there been the best of intentions on both sides, the relations inevitably became strained and ultimately hostile. But this good-will was only partially exhibited. Those at the head of the government, with the exception of the times of Caligula, were indeed ready on their part to make concessions and to exercise forbearance in a very large measure. But their good intentions were always rendered nugatory by the perversity of the procurators, not infrequently also by gross miscarriage of justice on the part of these officials. Those subordinate officers, like all petty governors, were usually puffed up by a consciousness of their absolute authority, and by their insolent demeanour at last drove the oppressed and burdened people to such a pitch of excitement that they rushed headlong with wild fanaticism into a war that plainly involved annihilation.

Seeing that the political affairs of Judea during the period

[15] Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 11. 2 ; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 6. 2.

A.D. 6–41 were in all essential respects the same as those of Palestine generally during the period A.D. 44–66, in the following exposition we take the two periods together, and make use of materials from the one period as well as from the other.[16]

Judea, and subsequently all Palestine, was not in the strict sense of the term incorporated with the province of Syria, but had a governor of its own of equestrian rank, who stood only to a certain extent in dependence upon the imperial legate of Syria.[17] It therefore belonged to the third class of imperial provinces, according to Strabo's classification.[18] And this third class is to be regarded as an exception to the rule; for most of the imperial provinces were, just like the senatorial provinces, administered by men of senatorial rank; the greater provinces, like that of Syria, by men who had been consuls, the smaller ones, by those who had been praetors.[19] Only a few particular provinces were in an exceptional manner placed under governors of equestrian rank, namely, those in which, on account of special tenacity in adhering to peculiar national customs, or on account of the rudeness and

[16] Compare Sibranda, *De statu Judaeae provinciae sub procuratoribus*, Franecq. 1698 (also in *Thesaurus novus theol.-philol.*, edd. Hase et Iken, ii. 529 sqq.).—Krenkel, art. "Verwaltung" in Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*, v. 601 f.; Riehm's *Handwörterbuch*, art. "Römer;" Mommsen, *Röm. Geschichte*, v. 509 ff.; and generally the literature referred to on p. 38 of this volume.

[17] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 8. 1: τῆς δὲ Ἀρχελάου χώρας εἰς ἐπαρχίαν περιγραφείσης ἐπίτροπός τις [l. τῆς] ἱππικῆς παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις τάξεως Κωπώνιος πέμπεται.—*Antt.* xviii. 1. 1: Κωπώνιος . . . τάγματος τῶν ἱππέων, ἡγησόμενος Ἰουδαίων τῇ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐξουσίᾳ.

[18] Strabo, xvii. 3. 25, p. 840: εἰς ἃς μὲν πέμπει τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους ὑπατικοὺς ἄνδρας, εἰς ἃς δὲ στρατηγικούς, εἰς ἃς δὲ καὶ ἱππικούς.

[19] For further details, see vol. i. p. 347 of this work.—The designation of the imperial governor of Syria as "proconsul," as is done by many theologians (*e.g.* Gerlach, Hausrath, Krenkel), is an offence against the very rudiments of Roman antiquities. Only during the time of Pompey, down to B.C. 48, was Syria governed by "proconsuls."

savage state of the country, the government could not be carried on by the usual methods. The best known example is that of Egypt. Elsewhere there were also territories inhabited by a still semi-barbarous people which were administered in this manner.[20]

The usual title for such an equestrian governor was *procurator*, ἐπίτροπος.[21] It seems indeed that Augustus, not only in Egypt, but elsewhere as well, preferred the title *praefactus*, ἔπαρχος.[22] Very soon, however, at farthest in the time of Claudius, except in the case of Egypt, the title *procurator* had become the prevailing one. Josephus, as a rule, designates the governor of Judea ἐπίτροπος, sometimes ἔπαρχος or ἡγεμών.[23] In the New Testament, ἡγεμών = *praeses*, is the term usually employed.[24] That ἐπίτροπος (*procurator*) is the correct title may be also proved by

[20] The most important, besides Egypt, are mentioned by Tacitus, *History*, i. 11: "duae Mauritaniae, Raetia, Noricum, Thracia et quae aliae procuratoribus cohibentur." A complete list is given by Hirschfeld, *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1889, pp. 419–423.—Compare also, Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. 1881, p. 554 f.; Liebenam, *Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte*, i. 1886, pp. 26–30.

[21] Compare generally on the Praesidial-Procurators: Mascovius, *De procuratore Caesaris*, Altorf. 1724 (also in his *Opuscula jurid. et philol.* 1776, pp. 1–30); Rein, art. "Procurator Caesaris" in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, vi. 1. 88–90; Winer, *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*, ii. 276 ff. (art. "Procuratoren"); Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Bd. 1, 1881, p. 554 ff.—The most comprehensive treatment of the subject is given by Hirschfeld, *Die ritterlichen Provinzialstatthalter* (*Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1889, pp. 417–442).

[22] See with reference to this matter, Hirschfeld, *Sitzungsberichte*, 1889, pp. 425–427.

[23] Ἐπίτροπος in the following passages: *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 8. 1, 9. 2, 11. 6 (in the parallel passage, *Antiq.* xix. 9. 2: ἔπαρχος); *Antiq.* xx. 6. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 8. ἐπιτροπεύων, *Antiq.* xx. 5. 1. ἐπιτροπή, *Antiq.* xx. 5. 1 *fin.*, 11. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 1, 14. 1.—ἔπαρχος, *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 2, xix. 9. 2 (in parallel passage, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 11. 6: ἐπίτροπος).—ἡγησόμενος, *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 1. ἡγεμών, *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 1. προστησόμενος, *Antiq.* xx. 7. 1.—ἐπιμελητής, *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 2.—ἱππάρχης, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 10 *fin.*

[24] Matt. xxvii. 2, 11, 14, 15, 21, 27, xxviii. 14; Luke iii. 1, xx. 20;

witnesses of another kind.[25] In general this title was used for all imperial finance officers, while *praefectus* was more of a military title. Such finance procurators were found also in all other provinces, in the imperial as well as the senatorial provinces.[26] They were chosen not only from the equestrian order, but even from among the freedmen of the emperor.[27] Those procurators, on the other hand, who had to administer a province, on account of the military command that was necessarily connected with such an appointment, were chosen exclusively from the ranks of the equestrians. It was an unheard of novelty when under Claudius the office of procurator of Judea was given to a freedman, Felix (see below under § 19).

The procurators of Judea seem to have been subordinate to the governor of Syria only to this extent, that it was the right and duty of the governor to interfere in the exercise of

Acts xxiii. 24, 26, 33, xxiv. 1, 10, xxvi. 30.—ἡγεμών means generally *praeses*, and is therefore used of governors of other orders.

[25] The decree of the Emperor Claudius in Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 1. 2: Κουσπίῳ Φάδῳ τῷ ἐμῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ.—Tacit. *Annal.* xv. 44: "Christus Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio adfectus erat." *Ibid.* xii. 54: "praedas ad procuratores referre . . . jus statuendi etiam de procuratoribus." Cumanus and Felix are intended.—The material brought together by Hirschfeld in *Sitzungsberichte*, p. 425 f., seems to me insufficient to ground upon it the conclusion "that in Judea also in the earlier days of the empire the title of *praefactus* was used," although this may be admitted as possible.

[26] Marquardt, i. 555 f.

[27] Compare on these finance procurators (besides the literature given in note 21): Eichhorst, *Quaestionum epigraphicarum de procuratoribus imperatorum Romanorum specimen*, 1861; Hirschfeld, *Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der römischen Verwaltungsgeschichte*, Bd. 1, *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian*, 1887 (a well-informing treatise); Liebenam, *Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des römischen Kaiserreichs*, i., *Die Laufbahn der Procuratoren bis auf die Zeit Diocletians*, 1886.—Much material is supplied in the Indices to the *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* Compare also *Corp. Inscr. Graec.*, Index, p. 36 (*s.v.* ἐπίτροπος Σεβαστοῦ). Haenel, *Corpus Legum*, Index, *s.v. procurator;* Dirksen, *Manuale latinitatis fontium iuris civ. Rom.* (1837), *s.v. procurator.*

his supreme power in cases of necessity.[28] Writers have indeed sometimes expressed themselves as if Judea had been incorporated into the province of Syria. But they do not continue consistent to such a view.[29] The investing the procurator with a military command, and with independent jurisdiction, of itself conferred upon him a position, in virtue of which he was, in regard to ordinary transactions within the limits of his province, as independent as the governors of other provinces. On the other hand, the governor of Syria had the right, according to his own discretion, to interfere if he had reason to fear revolutionary uprisings or the appearance of other serious difficulties. He would then take command in Judea as the superior of the procurator.[30]

[28] Compare Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 509, Anm.; Hirschfeld, *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1889, pp. 440–442.

[29] Josephus says, *Antiq.* xvii. *fin.*: τῆς δὲ Ἀρχελάου χώρας ὑποτελοῦς προσνεμηθείσης τῇ Σύρων. But when he also, in *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 1, calls Judea a προσθήκη τῆς Συρίας, he evidently does not mean to describe it as a properly integral part, but only as an appendix or annex to the province of Syria. According to the *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 8. 1, the territory of Archelaus had been made into a province, therefore with the privilege of independence, τῆς δὲ Ἀρχελάου χώρας εἰς ἐπαρχίαν περιγραφείσης. In reference also to the state of matters after Agrippa's death, Josephus affirms distinctly that the governor of Syria was not set over the kingdom of Agrippa (*Antiq.* xix. 9. 2), while he immediately afterwards states that this governor had interfered in the affairs of that country (*Antiq.* xx. 1. 1). —Tacitus refers, in A.D. 17, to Syria and Judea as two provinces alongside of one another (*Annals*, ii. 42: "provinciae Suria atque Judaea), and says of the arrangements after the death of King Agrippa, *History*, v. 9: "Claudius . . . Judaeam provinciam equitibus Romanis aut libertis permisit." When, therefore, he reports this same fact in another place (*Annals*, xii. 23) in these words: "Ituraeique et Judaei defunctis regibus, Sohaemo atque Agrippa, provinciae Suriae *additi*;" that word *additi* is to be understood in the same way as the προσθήκη of Josephus. In no case should any one conclude, as Bormann (see under § 18 *fin.*) has done, because Tacitus introduces this statement first in A.D. 49, when he should have previously brought it forward in A.D. 44, that affairs had undergone a change in A.D. 49.—Suetonius also wrongly designates Judea a province (Suetonius, *Claudius*, 28: "Felicem, quem cohortibus et alis provinciaeque Judaeae praeposuit").

[30] Examples: Petronius (*Antiq.* xviii. 8. 2–9; *Wars of the Jews*, ii.

Whether this superior authority went so far that he might even call the procurator to account seems questionable, since, in the two cases in which this happened, the governor concerned had been probably entrusted with a special commission.[31]

The residence of the procurator of Judea was not at Jerusalem, but at Caesarea.[32] Since the dwelling of the commander-in-chief or governor was called *praetorium*, the πραιτώριον τοῦ Ἡρώδου in Caesarea (Acts xxiii. 35) was nothing else than a palace built by Herod, which served as a residence for the procurator.—On special occasions, especially during the chief Jewish feasts, when, on account of the crowds of people that streamed into Jerusalem, particularly careful oversight was necessary, the procurator went up to Jerusalem, and resided then in what had been the palace of Herod.[33] The praetorium at Jerusalem, in which Pilate was staying at the time of the trial and condemnation of Jesus Christ (Matt. xxvii. 27; Mark xv. 16; John xviii. 28, 33, xix. 9), is therefore just the well-known palace of Herod, on the west side of the city.[34] It was not only a princely dwelling, but at the same time a strong castle, in which at

10. 1–5), Cassius Longinus (*Antiq.* xx. 1. 1), Cestius Gallus (*Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 3, 16. 1, 18. 9 ff.).

[31] Of Vitellius, who deposed Pilate (*Antiq.* xviii. 4. 2), Tacitus (*Annals*, vi. 32) says: "Cunctis quae apud orientem parabantur L. Vitellium praefecit." Of Ummidius Quadratus, who sent Cumanus to Rome (*Antiq.* xx. 6. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 6), it is expressly said in Tacitus (*Annals*, xii. 54): "Claudius . . . jus statuendi etiam de procuratoribus dederat."

[32] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 2 (Pilate); *Antiq.* xx. 5. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 2 (Cumanus); Acts xxiii. 23–33 (Felix); Acts xxv. 1–13 (Festus); Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 4 *fin.*, 15. 6 *fin.*, 17. 1 (Florus). Tacitus, *History*, ii. 78: "Caesaream . . . Judaeae caput."

[33] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 8, 15. 5; Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 38 (ed. Mangey, ii. 589 sq.).

[34] Compare the art. "Richthaus" in Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, and Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*.

times (during the rebellion in B.C. 4, and again in A.D. 66) large detachments of troops could maintain their position against the assaults of the whole mass of the people.[35] Hence, also, during the residence there of the procurator, the detachment of troops accompanying him had their quarters within its walls (Mark xv. 16).

With reference to the military arrangements, it deserves specially to be remembered that the Roman army of the days of the empire was divided into two divisions of a thoroughly distinct kind: the legions and the auxiliaries.[36] The legions formed the proper core of the troops, and consisted only of Roman citizens, for those provincials who served in the legions had obtained citizen rights. Each legion formed a compact whole of ten cohorts, or sixty centuries, altogether embracing from 5000 to 6000 men.[37] The auxiliary troops consisted of provincials who, at least in the early days of the empire, did not as a rule possess the right of citizenship. Their arms were lighter and less harmonious than those of the legions; often in this they were allowed to follow their own national usages. Their infantry was formed into cohorts, whose strength varied from 500 to 1000 men; the cavalry was formed into *alae*, of similarly varying strength.[38] Cohorts and *alae* were named after the nation from which they had been recruited.[39]

In regard to the provinces administered by procurators, it may, as a rule, be assumed that in them, and under the

[35] Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 10. 2–3; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 3. 1–4, 17. 7–8. Compare the description, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 4. 3–4.

[36] Compare on the composition and nature of the Roman army generally, Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 307–591.

[37] Marquardt, ii. 359, 441. [38] *Ibid.* 453–457.

[39] So, to give only a few examples from Palestine and Syria, "Cohors Ascalonitarum, Canathenorum, Damascenorum, Ituraeorum, Sebastenorum, Tyriorum." Other examples in rich abundance are given in the indices to *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* A collection of materials is given by Mommsen, *Ephemeris epigr.* v. 164–200.

command of the procurator, there would be only auxiliary troops.[40] This rule is also confirmed by the history of Judea. There were legions only in Syria; in the time of Augustus three, from the time of Tiberius four.[41] But in Judea, down to the time of Vespasian, there were only auxiliary troops, and, indeed, mostly such as had been raised in the country itself.[42] The honour and burden of this levy lay only on the non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine. The Jews were exempted from military service. This is abundantly proved to have been the state of matters, at least, from the time of Caesar,[43] and, from all that we positively know about the

[40] Hirschfeld, *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1889, pp. 431–437; Marquardt, ii. 518.

[41] Three legions under Augustus (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 10. 9; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 3. 1, 5. 1); four under Tiberius (Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 5). Seeing that in Egypt under Augustus there were three legions, and under Tiberius only two, see Strabo, xvii. 1. 12, p. 797; Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 5, there was meanwhile one of the Egyptian legions transferred to Syria (Pfitzner, p. 24, conjectures that it was the *Legio XII. Fulm.*).—Of the four Syrian legions only two are known with certainty: the *Legio VI. Ferrata* (Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 79, 81, xiii. 38, 40, xv. 6, 26) and the *Legio X. Fretensis* (Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 57, xiii. 40, xv. 6). The other two were probably the *Legio III. Gallica* (Tacitus, *Annals*, xiii. 40, xv. 6, 26; it had, according to Tacitus, *History*, iii. 24, already fought under Mark Antony against the Parthians) and the *Legio XII. Fulminata* (Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 6, 7, 10, 26).—See especially Mommsen, *Res gestae div. Augusti*, 2 ed. 1883, p. 68, note 2. Generally: Grotefend, art. "Legio" in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, iv. 868–901; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 430 ff.; Stille, *Historia legionum auxiliorumque inde ab excessu divi Augusti usque ad Vespasiani tempora*, Kiliae 1877; Pfitzner, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserlegionen von Augustus bis Hadrianus*, Leipzig 1881.

[42] Compare in reference to the garrisoning of Judea down to the time of Vespasian, Schürer, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, xviii. 1875, pp. 413–425; Egli, *Zeitschrift*, xxvii. 1884, pp. 10–22; Mommsen, *Hermes*, xix. 1884, p. 217, Anm.; Hirschfeld, *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1889, p. 433 f.

[43] Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 6: καὶ ὅπως μηδεὶς μήτε ἄρχων μήτε στρατηγὸς ἢ πρεσβευτὴς ἐν τοῖς ὅροις τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐνιστᾷ [*codd.* ἀνιστᾷ] συμμαχίαν. Also Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 501, Anm.—The Jews of Asia Minor were freed from the conscription for military service of the Pompeians in B.C. 49 (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 13, 14, 16, 18, 19),

Palestinian troops down to the days of Vespasian, may also be assumed as certain throughout the imperial period. Remarkable as this unequal treatment of the population may appear to us, it is in thorough correspondence with what is otherwise known regarding the Roman procedure in the conscription. Indeed, in regard to the use made of the inhabitants and the confidence reposed in them, the provinces were treated in very diverse ways and varying measures in the matter of military service.[44]

For the period A.D. 6–41 we are without any direct information about the troops stationed in Judea. But it is highly probable that the *Sebastians, i.e.* the soldiers drafted in the region of Sebaste or Samaria, whom we meet with subsequently, constituted even then a considerable portion of the garrison. In the struggles which followed the death of Herod in B.C. 4, the best equipped part of the troops of Herod fought on the side of the Romans, namely, the *Σεβαστηνοὶ τρισχίλιοι*, under the command of Rufus and Gratus, the former of whom commanded the cavalry, the latter the infantry.[45] The troops thus proved would be undoubtedly retained by Archelaus, and it is highly probable that, after his deposition in A.D. 6, they would be taken over by the Romans, then, from A.D. 41 to A.D. 44, by Agrippa, and after his death again by the Romans. The following also speaks in favour of this supposition. At the death of Agrippa in A.D. 44, the troops of the king stationed in Caesarea, which were *Καισαρεῖς καὶ Σεβαστηνοί*, gave expression in a very unseemly manner to their joy at the death of the ruler that

and this remission was confirmed to them six years later, in B.C. 43, by Dolabella (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 11–12). Compare Div. II. vol. ii. 264.

[44] Compare Mommsen, "Die Conscriptionsordnung der römischen Kaiserzeit" (*Hermes*, Bd. xix. 1884, pp. 1–79, 210–234).

[45] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 3. 4, 4. 2–3. Compare *Antiq.* xvii. 10. 3 ff.

had shown himself friendly to the Jews. In order to show respect to the memory of Agrippa, the emperor ordered these troops, namely, *τὴν ἴλην τῶν Καισαρέων καὶ τῶν Σεβαστηνῶν καὶ τὰς πέντε σπείρας* (therefore an *ala* of cavalry and five cohorts), to be sent by way of punishment to Pontus. On their presenting a petition, however, it was agreed that they should remain in Judea, from which they were first removed by Vespasian.[46] From this it appears that the troops of Agrippa were certainly taken over by the Romans.[47] From this it may be inferred that in the same way they were taken over after the deposition of Archelaus. It is also somewhat remarkable that the one *ala* of cavalry and five cohorts of infantry, if we reckon the latter at 500 men, would make together a force of 3000 men, which is the same number as is ascribed to the Sebastian troops of B.C. 4.—During the period A.D. 44–66 these troops are often referred to. The procurator Cumanus led the *ala Sebastenorum* and four cohorts of infantry from Caesarea against the Jews.[48] During the struggles between the Jewish and Gentile inhabitants of Caesarea, the latter boasted of the fact that the Roman troops in Caesarea consisted in great part of Caesareans and Sebastians.[49] Finally, in A.D. 67, Vespasian was able to draft into his army from Caesarea five cohorts and one *ala* of cavalry;[50] therefore the same detachments as were there in A.D. 44. Probably also the Sebasteni so often referred to on the

[46] Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 9. 1-2.

[47] Analagous cases are also known elsewhere. See Mommsen, *Hermes*, xix. 51, 217 f.

[48] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 6. 1: *τὴν τῶν Σεβαστηνῶν ἴλην καὶ πεζῶν τέσσαρα τάγματα*; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 5: *μίαν ἴλην ἱππέων καλουμένην Σεβαστηνῶν.*

[49] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 8. 7: *μέγα φρονοῦντες ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους ἐκείσε στρατευομένων Καισαρεῖς εἶναι καὶ Σεβαστηνούς.* In the parallel passage, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 13. 7, "Syrians" is the word in the received text.

[50] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 4. 2.

inscriptions are identical with our Sebastian troops.[51] Also the σπεῖρα Σεβαστή, which at the time of the imprisonment of Paul, about A.D. 60, lay in Caesarea (Acts xxvii. 1), is undoubtedly one of the five cohorts which we hear about from Josephus. Many theologians, however, have erroneously come to the conclusion that the expression σπεῖρα Σεβαστή is synonymous with σπεῖρα Σεβαστηνῶν. This is not possible. Σεβαστή is rather an exact translation of *Augusta*, a title of honour very frequently bestowed upon auxiliary troops. The cohort in question was therefore probably called *cohors Augusta Sebastenorum*. In Caesarea it was called simply σπεῖρα Σεβαστή, since this sufficed to distinguish it from others.[52]—It is, on the other hand, remarkable, after other results we have reached, that in Caesarea, about A.D. 40, a σπεῖρα Ἰταλική should have been stationed (Acts x. 1), by which probably a cohort of Roman citizens of Italy is to

[51] We meet with: *ala I. Flavia Sabastenorum* (*Ephemeris epigr.* v. p. 390, n. 699), *ala gemina Sebastenorum* (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. viii. n. 9358, 9359), *ala Sebastenorum* (*Ephemeris epigr.* v. p. 469, n. 1000), *cohors I. Sabastenorum* (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. n. 2916, whether the figure I. is the correct reading is, according to another copy, doubtful; see *Ephemeris epigr.* iv. p. 113, n. 370).—Although the name of Sebaste was given to other cities, it is yet probable, on account of the material afforded by Josephus, that these troops were drawn from the Palestinian city. So also Mommsen, *Hermes*, xix. 217. The conjecture there ventured upon by Mommsen, that among the five cohorts in Caesarea there were a *cohors Ascalonitarum* and a *cohors Canathenorum* is, however, impossible, since these five cohorts for the most part consisted of Caesareans and Sebastians.

[52] Further details on these matters will be found in the *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1875, pp. 416–419. — The title of honour, *Augusta*, which was borne by three legions, is rendered by the geographer Ptolemy by the word Σεβαστή (Ptolemy, ii. 3. 30, iv. 3. 30, ii. 9. 18). It is therefore not to be wondered at that this same title should have been similarly rendered in the case of an auxiliary cohort.—When the *ala* referred to by Josephus, although it consisted of Caesareans and Sebastians (*Antiq.* xix. 9. 2), is yet only called *ala Sebastenorum* (*Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 5), so likewise with the cohorts of similar composition the same meaning may be assumed, therefore *cohortes Sebastenorum*. The inscriptions also favour this view.

be understood.[53] Such a band would naturally not have served in Caesarea during the period A.D. 41–44 under the Jewish king Agrippa. But even in reference to a later period, it is after the above made investigations not probable. The story of the centurion Cornelius lies, therefore, in this respect under suspicion, the circumstances of a later period having been transferred back to an earlier period. That at some time or other a *cohors Italica* was in Syria is made perfectly clear by the evidence of an inscription (see note 53).

We have hitherto become acquainted only with the state of the garrison of Caesarea. In other cities and towns of Palestine there were also small garrisons. At the outbreak of the Jewish war in A.D. 66, we find, for example, a Roman garrison in the fortified castle of Jericho and in Machärus.[54] Throughout Samaria such detachments were stationed.[55] In the Great Plain there was a *decurio*;[56] in Ascalon (which, however, did not belong to the domains of the procurator) there were a cohort and an *ala*.[57] Vespasian, in the winter of A.D. 67–68, placed garrisons in all conquered villages and towns; those in the former under the command of Decurions, those in the latter under the command of Centurions.[58] This

[53] Compare *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1875, pp. 422–425. —On inscriptions we meet with (see proofs in Mommsen, *Ephemeris epigr.* v. p. 249): "Cohors I. Italica civium Romanorum voluntariorum" (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. xiv. n. 181); "Cohors miliaria Italica voluntariorum quae est in Syria" (Gruter, *Corp. Inscr.* p. 434, n. 1); "Cohors II. Italica" (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. vi. n. 3528).—In a passage in Arrian ("Acies contra Alonas" in Arriani *Scripta minora*, ed. Hercher, 1854) the expression ἡ σπεῖρα ἡ Ἰταλική is interchanged with οἱ Ἰταλοί (ed. Blancard, pp. 102 and 99). According to this and according to the first-named inscription, it is probable that a *cohors Italica* consisted of Roman citizens of Italy.

[54] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 18. 6.

[55] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 7. 32: φρουραῖς ἡ Σαμαρεῖτις ὅλη διείληπτο.

[56] Josephus, *Life*, 24: Αἰβούτιος ὁ δεκάδαρχος ὁ τοῦ μεγάλου πεδίου τὴν προστασίαν πεπιστευμένος.

[57] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 2. 1. [58] *Ibid.* iv. 8. 1.

was indeed an extraordinary proceeding, which we are not to regard as the rule in time of peace.

In Jerusalem there was stationed only one cohort. For the χιλίαρχος, so often referred to in the Acts of the Apostles (more exactly, Acts xxi. 31: χιλίαρχος τῆς σπείρης, "One having command of the cohort"), appears throughout as the officer holding the chief command in Jerusalem.[59] With this also Josephus' statement agrees, that in the fortress of Antonia a τάγμα of the Romans regularly lay,[60] for the τάγμα there means, not as it often does, a legion, but, as in the passage quoted in note 48, a cohort. The fort of Antonia, which Josephus describes as the regular quarters of the detachment, lay to the north of the temple. At two points, stairs (καταβάσεις) led down from the fort Antonia to the court of the temple.[61] This is just the position given it in the Acts of the Apostles. For when Paul, during the tumult in the temple, had been taken by the soldiers for his own safety and was being carried thence into the barracks (παρεμβολή), he was on account of the pressure of the crowd borne by the soldiers up the steps (τοὺς ἀναβαθμούς), and then, with the permission of the chiliarch, he made from these steps a speech to the people (Acts xxi. 31–40).[62] The officer in command at fort Antonia, who is certainly identical with the chiliarch, is also called by Josephus φρούραρχος.[63] The direct connection between the fort and the court of the temple was of importance, since the latter required to be under constant supervision. At the chief feasts, guards were

[59] Acts xxi. 31–37; chaps. xxii. 24–29, xxiii. 10, 15–22, xxiv. 7. 22.

[60] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 5. 8: καθῆστο γὰρ ἀεὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τάγμα Ῥωμαίων.

[61] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 5. 8.

[62] The παρεμβολή, barracks or "castle," as in the English version, is referred to in Acts xxi. 34, 37, xxii. 24, xxiii. 10, 16, 32.

[63] Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 11. 4, xviii. 4. 3.

stationed in the corridors which surrounded the temple.[64] —From one passage in the Acts of the Apostles (chap. xxiii. 23) we see that there was a detachment of cavalry along with the Jerusalem cohort, an arrangement that very frequently existed.[65] The precise character and position of the δεξιολάβοι (from λαβή, "the grip," therefore: "those who grasped their weapons by the right hand"), mentioned in that passage (xxiii. 23) as accompanying the regular soldiers and cavalry, are somewhat obscure. Seeing that the expression occurs elsewhere in Greek literature only twice, and even then appears without explanation, we are no longer in a position to explain it. This much only is certain, that it designated a special class of light-armed soldiers (javelin-throwers or slingers).[66]

After the great war of A.D. 66–73 the garrison arrangements of Palestine were essentially changed. The governor was then no longer a procurator of the equestrian order, but a legate of senatorial rank (in the earlier period, one who had been praetor; in the later period, one who had been consul). On the site of the destroyed Jerusalem a legion, the *legio X. Fretensis*, had its headquarters (see under § 20, toward the end). The native troops, which for decades had formed the garrison of Caesarea, were drafted by Vespasian to other provinces.[67] In their place were put auxiliary troops of foreign origin, drawn in part from the farthest lands of the West.[68]

[64] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 5. 8; *Antiq.* xx. 5. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 1; *Antiq.* xx. 8. 11.

[65] Accordingly *cohortes peditatae* and *equitatae* ought to be distinguished. See Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 455.

[66] What is known on these matters, or either is not known, is well treated by Meyer in his *Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*. A fanciful explanation is attempted by Egli, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1884, p. 21.

[67] Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 9. 2.

[68] On a military order of A.D. 86 (*Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. p. 857, Dipl. xiv.) the veterans are referred to who had served in Judea, and that "in alis duabus quae appellantur veterana Gaetulorum et I. Thracum

Besides the troops forming the standing army, the provincial governors sometimes organized a militia, *i.e.* in special cases of need those of the people capable of bearing arms were drafted into military service, without being permanently organized as a part of the army. An instance of this sort occurred in the arming of the Samaritans by Cumanus on the occasion of the war against the Jews.[69]

Like the governors of senatorial rank, the procurators also had, besides the supreme military command, supreme judicial authority within their province.[70] This authority was exercised by the procurators of Judea only in extraordinary cases; for the ordinary administration of the law, both in criminal and in civil matters, was left in the hands of the native and local courts (see Div. II. vol. i. 184–190).[70a]— The range of the procurator's judicial jurisdiction extended also to the right of deciding matters of life and death, *jus gladii* or *potestas gladii*.[71] That this also is true of the

Mauretana et cohortibus quattuor I. Augusta Lusitanorum et I. et II. Thracum et II. Cantabrorum."—Even Herod the Great had called in the aid of Thracian troops (*Antiq.* xvii. 8. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 33. 9).

[69] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 6. 1: ἀναλαβὼν τὴν τῶν Σεβαστηνῶν ἴλην καὶ πεζῶν τέσσαρα τάγματα, τούς τε Σαμαρείτας καθοπλίσας. Other examples in Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 520 f.—With these temporary organizations the provincial militia, met with especially in the later days of the empire, which formed a third class of the standing army alongside of the legionaries and the auxiliaries, should not be confounded. See with reference to that militia: Mommsen, *Hermes*, xix. 1884, p. 219 ff., xxii. 1887, p. 547 ff.

[70] See with reference to the procurators: Hirschfeld, *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1889, pp. 437–439.

[70a] On the question as to how far what has been said applies also to the administration of law in the provinces, see Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, ii. 1, p. 244: "The ordinary criminal jurisdiction was in the provinces left in the hands of the particular communities; whereas the courts of the governor, like the consular courts in Italy, are to be regarded, at least formally, as extraordinary."

[71] Digest. i. 18. 6. 8 (from Ulpian, beginning of the third century after Christ): "Qui universas provincias regunt, *jus gladii* habent et in metallum dandi potestas eis permissa est."—The technical expression

governors is proved by several inscriptions.[72] With reference to Judea, Josephus says expressly that the procurator had μέχρι τοῦ κτείνειν ἐξουσίαν.[73] This right of the governor over life and death down to the third century after Christ extended even to the case of Roman citizens, with this restriction, however, that such a one had the right of appealing against the sentence of the governor to the emperor.[74]

jus gladii is also used in Lampridius, *Vita Alexandri Severi*, c. 49 (*honores juris gladii*); *Firmicus Maternus Mathesius*, iii. 5. 5 (ed. Basil. 1533, p. 55: "in magnis administrationibus juris gladii decernit potestatem"), and in the passages quoted in the next note. Something will also be found in Forcellini, *Lexicon*, *s.v. gladius*. Elsewhere also *potestas gladii* occurs in *Digest.* i. 16. 6 pr.=L. 17. 70; ii. 1. 3 (all from Ulpian).—The technical use of both expressions previous to the beginning of the third century after Christ does not seem capable of proof. The *Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas* belong to A.D. 201–209. See article "Perpetua" in Herzog, *Real-Encyclopaedie*. Also the inscriptions scarcely reach farther back than this.—Literature on the *jus gladii* may be found in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, articles, "gladius" and "imperium merum."

[72] See the collection of passages in Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung* i. 1881, p. 557, Anm. 3; Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, ii. 1, 1874, p. 246; Hirschfeld, *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1889, p. 438.—Only two inscriptions can properly be referred to here: Orelli, *Inscr. Lat.* n. 3888= *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* ix. n. 5439: "proc. Alpium Atractianar(um) et Poeninar(um) jur(e) glad(ii);" and *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* viii. n. 9367; compare *Ephemeris epigr.* v. p. 461, n. 968: "praeses (scil. Mauretaniae Caesariensis) jure gla(dii)."—Of another kind are the two following instances: Orelli, n. 3664=*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* ii. n. 484: "proc. prov. M[oe]siae inferioris, ejusdem provinciae jus gladii;" and *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* iii. n. 1919: "proc. centenarius provinciae Li[burniae jure?] gladi." Seeing that elsewhere a governor of superior rank is assigned to the Moerians and Liburnians, the procurators here referred to "must undoubtedly have exercised the right of inflicting capital sentence only as quite exceptional authority" (Hirschfeld). This at least is perfectly plain in regard to the finance procurator of Africa, who at the time of the martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas exercised the *jus gladii* as interim occupant of the office of the deceased proconsul. See *Acts of Perpetuae and Felicitas*, c. 6 (in Ruinart, *Acta Martyrum*, ed. 2, 1713, p. 95; also in Münter, *Primordia ecclesiae Africanae*, 1829, p. 234): "Hilarianus procurator, qui tunc loco proconsulis Minuci Timiniani defuncti jus gladii acceperat."

[73] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 8. 1.

[74] Compare Div. II. vol. ii. p. 278, and the literature quoted in note

In the earlier days of the empire, it would seem that a Roman citizen accused of an offence constituting a capital charge had the important privilege of appealing to the emperor, even at the beginning of the proceedings and any subsequent stage of the trial, claiming that the investigation be carried on at Rome and the judgment pronounced by the emperor himself.[75] The governor's absolute penal jurisdiction

196, to which may be also added, Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, 1 Aufl. ii. 2, pp. 908–910; Merkel, *Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete des römischen Rechts*, 2 Heft: *Ueber die Geschichte der klassischen Appellation*, 1883 (pp. 76–81 treats of the proceedings against Paul).

[75] Acts xxv. 10 ff., 21, xxvi. 32. Pliny, *Epist.* x. 96 (*al.* 97): "Fuerunt alii similis amentiae, quos quia cives Romani erant adnotavi in urbem remittendos." Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, ii. 1. 244–246.—Notwithstanding the small number of examples, the above statement (which, in Div. II. vol. ii. pp. 278, 279, I characterized as not quite certain) ought to admit of no doubt. The most important case is that of the Apostle Paul. From it we may conclude that the governor was not obliged in all circumstances to send accused Roman citizens to Rome for judgment; for the procurator by his own authority takes up the case of Paul though he was aware of his Roman citizenship (according to Acts xxii. 25 ff., xxiii. 27); and Paul allows matters to proceed without protesting against this. Only after two years Paul speaks the word that determines his future course: Καίσαρα ἐπικαλοῦμαι (Acts xxv. 11). We must therefore suppose that the procurator could judge even a Roman citizen, unless his prisoner lodged a protest. Only if the accused himself made the claim to be judged in Rome, was the governor obliged to give effect to his claim. But that the governor could himself do that is perfectly conceivable. For he was in every respect the representative of the emperor; even his tribunal was called "Caesar's judgment-seat" (Acts xxv. 10: ἑστὼς ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος Καίσαρός εἰμι). It is therefore quite conceivable that an accused Roman citizen might voluntarily submit himself to such a tribunal as Paul at first did; for the imperial tribunal of the governor afforded in ordinary circumstances the same protection as the imperial tribunal at Rome, and there could be no pleasure in merely lengthening out the proceedings by a journey to Rome. Only if the accused did not trust the impartiality of the governor, had he any interest in claiming the transference of the trial to Rome. Paul makes use of this privilege, when he sees that the procurator is going to judge him in accordance with Jewish ideas.—That this privilege extended only to Roman citizens and not to all provincials may be held as certain, although Paul in his appeal does not make mention of his citizenship (Acts xxv. 10 ff.). Provincials were judged by the procurator without any right of appeal (Josephus,

therefore applied only to provincials. It was a gross violation of the law when Florus in Jerusalem, in A.D. 66, had the Jews crucified who were in possession of equestrian rank.[76] But even provincials might be sent by the governor for trial to Rome, if he wished on account of the difficulty of the case to have the decision of the emperor.[77]—The fact known from the Gospels, that the procurator of Judea at the feast of the Passover set free a prisoner, was grounded indeed on a special authorization of the emperor; for the right of remitting a sentence was not otherwise given to the governors.[78]

Although the governor, as sole judge, had to give the decision, he frequently availed himself of the advice of his *comites*. These were partly the higher officials of his court, partly the younger people, who, for the sake of their own training, accompanied the governor. They supported him, not only in administrative matters, but also assisted him in the execution of the law as *consilium*, *συμβούλιον* (Acts xxv. 12).[79]

Antiq. xx. 1. 1, 5. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 13. 2). This appears also in the crucifixion of Jesus Christ by Pilate.

[76] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 9.

[77] Examples: Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 6. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 6 (Ummidius Quadratus sent the most distinguished of the Jews and the Samaritans to Rome); *Antiq.* xx. 8. 5; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 13. 2 (Felix sent Eleasar and other Zealots); Josephus, *Life*, 3 (Felix sent some of the Jewish priests).

[78] See Hirschfeld, *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1889, p. 439. On the right of granting pardon generally: Merkel, *Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete des römischen Rechts*, 1 Heft, 1881.

[79] Caesar's decree nominating Hyrcanus begins (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 2): *Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ . . . μετὰ συμβουλίου γνώμης ἐπέκρινα.*—Sueton. *Tiber.* 33: "magistratibus pro tribunali cognoscentibus plerumque se offerebat consiliarium."—The details of a consultation which Petronius, as governor of Syria, held with his *assessores* are described by Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 33, ed. Mangey, ii. 582 sq. (sec. 33 = ii. 582: *ἐπεξανάστας δὲ μετὰ τῶν συνέδρων ἐβουλεύετο τὰ πρακτέα . . . τίνες οὖν ἦσαν αἱ γνῶμαι . . .* sec. 34 *init.* = ii. 583 *fin.*: *ἀποδεξαμένων δὲ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τῶν συνέδρων κελεύει γράφεσθαι τὰς ἐπιστολάς*). — Lamprid. *Vita Alexandri Severi*, c. 46: "Adsessoribus salaria instituit."—*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. ii. n.

The execution of the death sentence was, as a rule, carried out by soldiers. Le Blant has, indeed, in a learned dissertation, sought to prove that those appointed to this duty were not soldiers, but belonging to the class of *apparitores*, i.e. the non-military servants of the governor.[80] But the opposite opinion, at least with regard to capital sentences pronounced by the imperial governors, must be considered as absolutely certain.[81] The imperial governors were military administrators; their judicial power therefore the outcome of their military authority.[82] It is, however, unquestionable, and is not disputed even by Le Blant, that the death sentences on soldiers were

2129: "comes et adsessor legati ad [census accip.?], comes et adsessor procos. provinciae Galliae [Narbon.]."—The most distinct account of the meeting of such a council is given us in a judgment decree; the proconsul of Sardinia of A.D. 68 (contained in a bronze tablet inscription, communicated by Mommsen, *Hermes* ii. 1867, pp. 102–127). It also contains the following statement in the form of a protocol: "In consilio fuerunt M. Julius Romulus leg. pro pr., T. Atilius Sabinus q. pro pr., M. Stertinius Rufus f., Sex. Aelius Modestus, P. Lucretius Clemens, M. Domitius Vitalis, M. Lusius Fidus, M. Stertinius Rufus." Therefore, besides the legate and quaestor, there were other six advisers. Compare generally: Geib, *Geschichte des römischen Criminalprocesses* (1842), p. 243 ff.; Mommsen, *Hermes*, iv. 1870, p. 123; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. 1881, p. 531 ff.; the commentators on Acts xxv. 12; and the Lexicons to the New Testament on the word *συμβούλιον*.

[80] Le Blant, "Recherches sur les bourreaux du Christ et sur les agents chargés des exécutions capitales chez les Romains" (*Mémoires des l'Académie des inscr. et belles-lettres*, xxvi. 2, 1870, pp. 137–150).—On the *apparitores* generally, see Mommsen, "De apparitoribus magistratuum Romanorum" (*Rhein. Museum*, vi. 1848, pp. 1–57); Pauley's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, article "apparitores;" Naudet, "Mémoire sur la cohorte du préteur et le personnel administratif dans les provinces romaines" (*Mémoires de l'Acad. des inscr.* xxvi. 2, pp. 499–555); Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, 1 Aufl. i. 250–293; Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, i. 533.—To the class of these *apparitores* belong the *scribae*, *lictores*, *accensi*, *nomenclatores*, *viatores*, *praecones*.

[81] Against Le Blant, see Naudet, "Mémoire sur cette double question: 1. thèse particulière, Sont-ce des soldats qui ont crucifié Jesus-Christ? 2. thèse générale, Les soldats romains prenaient-ils une part active dans les supplices?" *Mémoires de l'Acad. des inscr.* xxvi. 2, 1870, pp. 151–187). —Also Geib, *Geschichte des römischen Criminalprocesses*, p. 671 f.; Rein in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, vi. 1. 1046, article "sententia."

[82] Dio Cassius, liii. 13; Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, ii. 1. 245.

executed by soldiers.[83] According to Le Blant's view, this inference should be drawn from that fact, namely, that the governor carried out the death sentences on soldiers by different parties than those employed upon civilians. This, in view of the military character of his judicial authority, is extremely improbable, and it even forms a positive proof for the opposite theory. The many executions of distinguished men and women in the times of Claudius and Nero were carried out by military men, some of them officers of high rank.[84] Numerous examples of a similar kind might be cited from the history of the following emperors.[85] Although these cases might not apply to ordinary courts, yet this much is clear, that the carrying out of executions by soldiers was not opposed to Roman sentiment. But further, not infrequently *speculatores* are spoken of as executing the condemned.[86] These were certainly soldiers; for (1) the *specu-*

[83] See, *e.g.*, Suetonius, *Caligula*, 32: "Saepe in conspectu prandentis vel comissantis . . . miles decollandi artifex quibuscumque e custodia capita amputabat."—Tertullian asks in his treatise, *De corona militis*, c. 11, in order to show the incompatibility of military service with the faith of a Christian: "et vincula et carcerem et tormenta et supplicia administrabit, nec suarum ultor injuriarum?" The passage proves at least that soldiers were employed at the carrying out of death sentences, even if we should here with Le Blant refuse to believe that this implies more than their employment at soldiers' executions.

[84] Tacitus, *Annals*, xi. 37 f., xii. 22, xiv. 8, 59, xv. 59 ff., 64, 67, 69.

[85] Naudet, *l.c.* p. 171.

[86] Mark vi. 27: *ἀποστείλας ὁ βασιλεὺς σπεκουλάτορα ἐπέταξεν ἐνέγκαι τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ*.—Seneca, *De Ira*, i. 18. 4: "Tunc centurio supplicio praepositus condere gladium speculatorem jubet."—Idem, *De beneficiis*, iii. 25: "speculatoribus occurrit nihilque se deprecari, quominus imperata peragerent, dixit et deinde cervicem porrexit."—*Firmicus Maternus Mathes.* viii. 26 (ed. Basil. 1533, p. 234): "spiculatores faciet, qui nudato gladio hominum amputent cervices."—*Digest.* xlviii. 20. 6 (aus Ulpian): "neque speculatores ultro sibi vindicent neque optiones [optio in military language = the servant of a Centurio oder Decurio] ea desiderent, quibus spoliatur, quo momento quis punitus est." The soldiers engaged at the executions were therefore in later times no longer allowed, as in the times of Christ, to part the garments of the executed person among them.—Jerome, *Epist.* 1 *ad Innocentium*, c. 8:

latores are frequently described as holding a military office;[87] and (2) in several of the passages quoted the *speculatores*

"jam spiculator exterritus et non credens ferro, mucromen aptabat in jugulum," etc.—*Acta Cypriani*, c. 5 (see Ruinart, *Acta martyrum*, ed. 2, 1713, p. 218: "cum venisset autem spiculator," etc.—*Acta Claudii, Asterii et alior.* c. 4 (Ruinart, p. 268): "Euthalius commentariensis dixit . . . Archelaus spiculator dixit." See also c. 5 *s. fin.* (Ruinart, p. 269).—*Acta Rogatiani et Donatiani*, c. 6 (Ruinart, p. 282): "adhuc ministris imperans, ut post expensa supplicia a spiculatore capite truncarentur. Tunc lictoris insania . . . lancea militari perfossas cervices beatissimorum gladio vibrante praecidit."—Linus, *De passione Petri et Pauli*, lib. ii. *s. fin.* (*Bibliotheca maxima patrum Lugd.* t. ii. p. 73): "Spiculator vero in altum brachia elevans eum tota vi percussit et caput ejus abscidit . . , statimque de corpore ejus unda lactis in vestimenta militis exiluit."—*Vita Bacchi junioris martyris*, ed. Combefis. p. 114 (I give the quotation according to Du Cange, *Glossar.*): Αὐστηρότερόν τε τὸν σπεκουλάτορα ὑποβλεψάμενος ἔφη. Τέμνε τρικατάρατε.—In rabbinical literature also we often meet with ספקלטור in the sense of "executioner." See especially the passages quoted *in extenso* in Levy, *Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, iii. 573; Schoettgen, *Horae hebr. ad Marc.* vi. 27; Levy, *Chald. Wörterbuch*, *s.v.*; also Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chaldicum*, *s.v.*—In some glossaries σπεκουλάτωρ is interpreted by ἀποκεφαλίζων, ἀποκεφαλιστής (Wetstein, *Novum Testamentum* on Mark vi. 27; Schleusner, *Lexicon in N.T. s.v.*).—The form *spiculator* is a corruption from *speculator*, which is proved by many inscriptions having the correct form. It cannot be derived from *spiculum*, for then we should have expected *spiculatus*, according to the analogy of *pilatus*, *lornicatus*, *hastatus* (Fritzsche, *Evangel. Marc.* p. 232 sq.).

[87] *Speculator* means indeed generally "spy, watcher" (*e.g.* Tertullian, *Adv. Marcion.* ii. 25: "speculatorem vineae vel horti tui; also in Jerome's translation of Isa. lvi. 10; Jer. vi. 17; Ezek. xxxiii. 7; Hos. ix. 8). But most frequently we meet with *speculatores* in connection with military matters, as spies (Livy, xxii. 33; Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* ii. 11; Suetonius, *Augustus*, 27) and swift messengers (Suetonius, *Caligula*, 44; Tacitus, *History*, ii. 73). The coalescing of the two meanings is best illustrated from Livy, xxxi. 24: "ni speculator—hemerodromos vocant Graeci, ingens die uno cursu emetientes spatium—contemplatus regium agmen ex specula quadam praegressus nocte media Athenas pervenisset." It also means the bodyguard of the emperor (Suetonius, *Claudius*, 35; Tacitus, *History*, ii. 11. 33, and is hence rendered by Suidas, δορυφόρος. In the latter capacity they formed, down to Vespasian's time, a distinct corps alongside of the other praetorian cohorts (Tacitus, *History*, ii. 11. 33; *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. p. 853, Dipl. x.). In later times each praetorian cohort seems to have had a number of *speculatores* (Cauer, *Ephemeris epigr.* iv. 464), as then each legion had ten *speculatores*. On inscriptions we frequently meet with *speculatores*, who served either in legions or in the

referred to are distinctly characterized as soldiers;[88] and so those elsewhere spoken of under the same title, and as discharging the same functions, will have been also soldiers. When Le Blant expressly refers to the fact that in many passages the term *speculator* is interchanged with the expression *lictor*, and with other words which designate non-military offices,[89] this may be said in the first place to result from a certain laxity in the use of language. On the contrary, one would be equally justified in saying that those expressions are now also used for designating military persons.[90] In the New Testament the agents entrusted with the carrying out the

praetorian cohorts (collected by Cauer, *Ephemeris Epigr.* iv. 459–466). Their employment as executioners (see the previous note) seems to have resulted from their being bodyguards or generally custodiers of the peace. Compare generally: Laur. Lundii *Diss. de speculatore*, Hafn. 1703; Joh. Wilh. Gollingii *Diss de speculatoribus veterum Romanorum praeside Chr. Gottl. Schwartzio*, Altorfii 1726 (also in *Thesaurus novus theol.-philol.* edd. Hase et Iken, ii. 485–412). Du Cange, *Glossarium med. et infin. Lat.*, and Forcellini, *Lex. Lat. s.v.*; Scheiffele in Pauly's *Real-Encylopaedie*, vi. 1. 1364 f.; Schleusner, *Lexicon in Nov. Test. s.v.* The commentators on the Gospel of Mark vi. 27 (especially Wetstein, *Nov. Test.*; Wolf, *Curae philol. in N. T.*; Kuinoel, Fritzsche); Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. 560, ii. 530.

[88] So not only Seneca, *De ira*, i. 18. 4 (where reference is made to the execution of a soldier), but also *Acta Rogatiani et Donatiani*, c. 6 (*lancea militari*), and Linus, *De passione Petri et Pauli*, *s. fin.* (*vestimenta militis*). The *optiones* and *commentarienses*, referred to alongside of the *speculatores* as the agents employed in carrying out executions, were also not exclusively but yet most frequently military appointments (*optiones*, *Digest.* xlviii. 20. 6; *commentariensis*, *Acta Claudii*, *Asterii et aliori*, c. 4–5). See Marquardt, ii. 527, 529 f.; Cauer, *Ephemeris epigr.* iv. 441–452, 424 sq.—Theophylact in his commentary on Mark vi. 27 explains *speculator* by στρατιώτης ὃς πρὸς τὸ φονεύειν τέτακται.

[89] *Speculator* and *lictor* are synonymous in Jerome, *Epist* 1 *ad innocentium*, c. 7–8; also in *Acta Rogatiani et Donatiani*, c. 6 (Ruinart, p. 282).

[90] The *lictor* was in no case a soldier, but belonged to the class of *apparitores* (see the literature referred to in note 80). But he had in the earliest times to carry out death-sentences only upon Roman citizens; and in the days of the empire his duties in this direction did not probably extend farther. See Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, *s.v.*; Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, 1 Aufl. i. 301 f.

sentence, both at the crucifixion of Christ and at the imprisonment of Paul, are named στρατιῶται, and are also plainly described as such.[91]

The third chief function of the procurator-governor, in addition to the command of the troops and judicial authority, was the administration of the finance department. From this, indeed, those equestrian governors got their title; for the imperial finance officials generally were called "procurators." Since everything that is of consequence about the different sorts of revenue and methods of taxation will be considered in the Excursus on the Census of Quirinius (§ 17, Excursus 1), it is not necessary here to say more than this, that the revenue of Judea as imperial province went, not into the treasury of the Senate, the *aerarium*, but into the imperial treasury, the *fiscus*.[92] Judea therefore, in the strict sense of the word, paid its taxes "to Caesar" (Matt. xxii. 17 ff.; Mark xii. 14 ff.; Luke xx. 22 ff.), which could only in a certain degree be said of the senatorial provinces.—It was probably for the purposes of tax collection that Judea was divided into eleven toparchies (see Div. II. vol. i. pp. 157–161). In the gathering of the revenue the Romans seem to have made use of the Jewish courts, as was their custom in other places (see Div. II. vol. i. p. 162).—That the

[91] στρατιῶται: Matt. xxvii. 27; Mark xv. 16; Luke xxiii. 36; John xix. 2, 23 sq., 32, 34; Acts xxi. 35, xxiii. 23, xxvii. 31, 42, xxviii. 16.—Jesus was pierced with a spear (John xix. 34).—A centurion was present at the crucifixion of Jesus (Mark xv. 39, 44 f.; Matt. xxvii. 54; Luke xxiii. 47); also at the scourging of Paul (Acts xx. 25). Everything connected with the imprisonment of Paul was of a military character. Hence centurions had immediate charge of him (Acts xxiii. 17, xxiv. 23, xxvii. 1 f.).

[92] On the difference between the two, see Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 292 ff.—The distinction from the beginning undoubtedly did exist, even although, as Hirschfeld conjectures, the centralizing of the imperial treasuries, therefore the establishment of one central *fiscus*, may first have been carried out by Claudius (Hirschfeld, *Untersuchungen*, etc., Ed. 1, *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten*, 1877, p. 1 ff.).

taxes were oppressive, is seen from the complaints made by the provinces of Syria and Judea in A.D. 17.[93]

From the taxes in the proper sense are to be distinguished the customs, *i.e.* duties upon articles on their being exported from the country.[94] These were imposed in all the provinces of the Roman empire. The great trade emporium which yielded the largest returns in this direction was Egypt. From the days of the Ptolemies it had taken advantage of its geographical position in order to secure the flourishing traffic between India and Europe. But even in Palestine they were acquainted with the "custom" as early as the Persian era (Ezra iv. 13, 20, vii. 24).—The range to which the "custom" applied, varied certainly according to circumstances. In general it may be assumed that every province of the Roman empire formed a customs district by itself.[95] But also the States and Communes recognised by the Romans as autonomous, and the number of these was very large, had the right of independently levying duties within their own

[93] Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 42; "provinciae Syria atque Judaea, fessae oneribus, deminutionem tributi orabant."

[94] Compare in regard to this: Wetstein, *Nov. Test.* i. 314–316 (on Matt. v. 46).—Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, art. "Portorium, publicani, vectigal;" Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 261 ff., 289 ff.; Winer, *Real-wörterbuch*, art. "Zoll;" Leyrer in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, art. "Zoll" (1 Aufl. xviii. 652 f.; 2 Aufl. xvii. 551 f.); Herzfeld, *Handelsgeschichte der Juden des Alterthums* (1879), pp. 159–162; Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopaedie für Bibel und Talmud*, 2 Abth. art. "Zoll;" Levy, *Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, iii. 113–115 (art. מכס, מכמא, etc.); Naquet, *Des impôts indirects chez les Romains sous la république et sous l'empire.* Paris 1875 (Bursian's *Jahresberichte*, Bd. 19, p. 466 ff.); Cagnat, *Étude historique sur les impôts indirects chez les Romains jusqu' aux invasions des barbares*, Paris 1882 (Bursian's *Jahresberichte*, Bd. 36, p. 245 ff.); Vigié, *Études sur les impôts indirects romains; des douanes dans l'empire romain*, 1884; Thibaut, *Les douanes chez les Romains*, Paris 1888 (*Revue critique*, 1889, Nr. 7).—Inscription material with reference to the *vectigalia* is given in the Indices to *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* Other materials in Haenel, *Corpus Legum*, Index, p. 271.

[95] At least in regard to many of these this can be proved. See Marquardt, ii. 263 ff.

boundaries.[96] To the proofs in regard to these matters already in earlier times acknowledged, there has now to be added: a long inscription in Greek and Aramaic, which contains the customs-tariff of the city of Palmyra in the time of Hadrian.[97] From this inscription it appears that Palmyra, although it was at that time a Roman city in the same sense as many other autonomous communes within the Roman empire, administered independently its own customs, and enjoyed the revenues thereof. It is therefore perfectly evident that the kings and tetrarchs "confederate" with Rome within their own territories could levy their customs for their own behoof, only with this restriction, that the Roman citizens (*Romani ac socii nominis Latini*, as it is phrased by Livy) should be exempted from them.[98] The customs raised at Capernaum, within the borders of Galilee, in the

[96] Marquardt, i. (1881) p. 79; Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, iii. 1. 691.—See especially Livy, xxxviii. 41: "senatus consultem factum est, ut Ambraciensibus suae res omnes redderentur; in libertate essent ac legibus suis uterentur; portoria quae vellent terra marique caperent, dum eorum inmunes Romani acs ocii nominis Latini essent."—Plebiscite for Termessus in Pisidia of B.C. 71 (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. 1, n. 104, col. ii. lin. 31 sqq.): "Quam legem portorieis terrestribus maritumeisque Termenses majores Phisidae capiundeis intra suos fineis deixserint, ea lex ieis portorieis capiundeis esto, dum neiquid portori ab ieis capiatur, quei publica populi Romani vectigalia redempta habebunt.

[97] The inscription was discovered in 1881 by Prince Lazarew.—The best edition of the Aramaic text is that of Schroeder (*Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1884, pp. 417–436). The best edition of the Greek text is that of Dessau, with a comprehensive and informing commentary (*Hermes*, xix. 1884, pp. 486–533). Both are copied from castings made by Euting.—Both texts, with German translation and explanation of the Aramaic text, have also been edited by Reckendorf (*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, 1888, pp. 370–415).—Less correct are the earlier publications of De Vogüé (*Journal asiatique*, VIII^me^ série, t. i. 1883, pp. 231–245; t. ii. 1883, pp. 149–183); and Sachau (*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländ Gesellschaft*, 1883, pp. 562–571).

[98] See Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, iii. 1. 691, and the passages quoted in note 96.—The Romans sometimes made also arbitrary exceptions in favour of others. Thus in the decree of Senate given in Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 22 (applying probably to Hyrcanus I., see vol. i. p. 278), the Jews were

times of Christ (Matt. ix. 9; Mark ii. 14; Luke v. 27) went therefore, undoubtedly, not into the imperial *fiscus*, but into the treasury of Herod Antipas. On the other hand, in Judea at that time, the customs were raised in the interests of the imperial *fiscus*. We know from the Gospels that in Jericho, on the eastern borders of Judea, there was an ἀρχιτελώνης (Luke xix. 1, 2). In the seaport town of Caesarea in A.D. 66, among the influential men of the Jewish community, there John, a τελώνης, is mentioned.[99] It is stated by Pliny that the merchants who exported incense from Central Arabia through Gaza had to pay a high duty, not only to the Arabians on passing through their territory, but also to the Roman customs officers, who, it may be supposed, were stationed at Gaza.[100]—Besides the import and export duties, it would seem as if in Judea, as well as elsewhere, indirect duties of another sort had also to be paid, *e.g.* a market toll in Jerusalem, introduced by Herod, but abolished in A.D. 36 by Vitellius.[100a]

The collecting of the customs was not done by officers of the State, but by lessees, the so-called *publicani*, who leased the customs of a particular district for a fixed annual sum; so

allowed to raise customs within their own borders, but on condition that they should hold the king of Egypt exempt.

[99] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 4.

[100] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, xii. 63–65: "Evehi non potest nisi per Gebanitas, itaque et horum regi penditur vectigal. . . . Iam quacumque iter est aliubi pro aqua aliubi pro pabulo aut pro mansionibus variisque portoriis pendunt, ut sumptus in singulos camelos X. DCLXXXVIII. ad nostrum litus (*i.e.* as far as Gaza) colligat, iterumque imperi nostri publicanis penditur.—We also elsewhere heard of duties being levied by uncivilised tribes. Thus the merchants who carried on trade between Syria and Babylon were obliged to pay customs to the tribes through whose country they passed, and indeed the σκηνῖται, *i.e.* the dwellers in tents in the desert, were more reasonable in their demands than were the φύλαρχοι on both sides of the Euphrates (Strabo, p. 748).

[100a] Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 8. 4 *fin.*, xviii. 4. 3: Οὐιτέλλιος τὰ τέλη τῶν ὠνουμένων καρπῶν ἀνῆσιν εἰς τὸ πᾶν τοῖς ταύτῃ κατοικοῦσι.

that whatever in excess of that sum the revenue yielded was their gain; whereas, if the revenue fell below it, they had to bear the loss.[101] This system was widely prevalent throughout ancient times, and came often to be applied, not only to the customs, but also to the taxes properly so called. Thus, *e.g.* during the Ptolemaic government of Palestine the taxes of each city were annually leased out to the highest bidder.[102] In the days of the Roman empire the system of leasing was no longer applied to the taxes, *i.e.* the land-tax and poll-tax. These were now collected by officers of State: in senatorial provinces, by the quaestor; in imperial provinces, by an imperial procurator, assistants to the governor;[103] in provinces like Judea, administered by an equestrian, the governor was himself at the same time procurator. The customs, on the other hand, were, even in the days of the empire, still commonly leased out to *publicani*.[104] So, undoubtedly, it was in Judea. The contrary opinion of Wieseler rests manifestly on a misunderstanding.[105] In the passage cited from Pliny, in

[101] Compare Rein, art. "Publicani," in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie;* Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 289 ff.; Conr. Gottfr. Dietrich, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des römischen Staatspächtersystems*, 1877; Prax, *Essai sur les sociétés vectigaliennes précédé d'un exposé sommaire du système fiscal des Romains*, Montauban 1884; Rémondière, *De la levée des impôts en droit romain*, Paris 1886.

[102] Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 4. 3: ἔτυχε δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν πάντας ἀναβαίνειν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τῶν τῆς Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης πρώτους καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν τελῶν ὠνήν· κατ' ἔτος δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς δυνατοῖς τῶν ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει ἐπίπρασκεν ὁ βασιλεύς. — *Ibid.* xii. 4. 4: ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας καθ' ἣν ἔμελλε τὰ τέλη πιπράσκεσθαι τῶν πόλεων. — Compare also xii. 4. 5. From the latter passage it seems plain that we have here to do, not with customs, but with taxes (*φόροι*). The most important of these was the poll-tax (*Antiq.* xii. 4. 1: τὰς ἰδίας ἕκαστοι τῶν ἐπισήμων ἀνοῦντο πατρίδας φορολογεῖν, καὶ συναθροίζοντες τὸ προστεταγμένον κεφάλαιον τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐτέλουν). But there was also yet another class of taxes; for the Jerusalem priesthood had been freed by Antiochus the Great (Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 3. 3): ὧν ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς τελοῦσι καὶ τοῦ στεφανίτου φόρου καὶ τοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων.

[103] Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 303. [104] *Ibid.* ii. 302.

[105] Wieseler, *Beiträge zur richtigen Würdigung der Evangelien*, 1869,

note 100, it is expressly said, that for the incense exported from Arabia by way of Gaza a duty had also to be paid to the Roman *publicani*. From the universality of the system, it may be assumed that territorial princes like Herod Antipas would also make use of it. Even city communes like Palmyra did not have their customs collected by municipal officials, but rented them out to lessees.[106] — The lessees again, as may be readily supposed, had their subordinate officials, who would usually be chosen from the native population. But even the principal lessees were by no means necessarily Romans. The tax-gatherers of Jericho (Luke xix. 1, 2) and of Caesarea—Zaccheus and John—were therefore Jews. Since they are described as well-to-do and respectable people, they certainly cannot have belonged to the lowest class of publicans.[107]— The extent to which custom might be charged was indeed prescribed by the court; but since these tariffs, as we see

p. 78 f., seeks support for his theory from Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 5: μήτε ἐργολαβῶσί τινες. But here the matters referred to are not the customs, but the revenue derived from the land-tax. Besides, these enactments of Caesar had long been antiquated in the days of the empire by the convulsions that had meanwhile occurred.

[106] In the decree of the Council of Palmyra with reference to the customs-tariff in the time of Hadrian (*Hermes*, xix. 490, compare note 97), it is said: In the older customs-tariff very many subjects were not introduced; and so, in making the bargain with the lessee (τῇ μισθώσει), the amount of custom which the tax-gatherer (τὸν τελωνοῦντα) ought to levy has to be determined by tariff and use and wont. But over these questions disputes constantly arose between the merchants and the lessees of the customs. Therefore did the council then conclude that the courts of the city should make a list of articles omitted, and in the next lease-contract (τῇ ἐνγιστα μισθώσει) should have them inserted, in addition to the consuetudinary tax (so that it would thus become a fixed sum). If this tariff be accepted by the lessee (τῷ μισθουμένῳ), then should it, as well as the older tariff, be made generally known by being engraved on stone tablets. But the authorities should take care that the lessee (τὸν μισθούμενον) should exact nothing beyond the requirements of the law.

[107] The assertion of Tertullian, that all tax-gatherers were heathens (*de pudicitia*, c. 9), was rightly contested as early as by Jerome (*Epist.* 21 *ad Damasum*, c. 3, *Opera*, ed. Valarsi, i. 72).

from the case of Palmyra, were in early times often very indefinite, abundant room was left for the arbitrariness and rapacity of the tax-gatherer. The advantage taken of such opportunities, and the not infrequent overcharges that were made by these officials, made them as a class hated by the people. Not only in the New Testament are the terms "publican and sinner" almost synonymous, but also in rabbinical literature tax-gatherers (מוֹכְסִין) appear in an even less favourable light.[108] — On the other hand, the people generally then, just as in the present day, were inventive of contrivances of ways and means for defrauding the revenue.[109]

[108] According to *Baba kamma* x. 1, one should not take payment in money from the cash-box of the tax-gatherers—should not even receive alms from them (because their money has been gained by robbery). If, however, tax-gatherers have taken away one ass and given another in exchange for it, or robbers have robbed him of his garment and given him another for it, he ought to keep what is given, because it has already ceased to be his property (*Baba kamma*, x. 2). — According to *Nedarim* iii. 4, should one promise, in consequence of a vow, to robbers and tax-gatherers, he may declare the thing the property of the priests or of the king, though it be not so! — Throughout, therefore, tax-gatherers (מוכסין) are placed in the same category as robbers. Compare also Wünsche, *Neue Beiträge zur Erläuterung der Evv.* 1878, p. 71 f.; Herzfeld, *Handelsgeschichte der Juden*, p. 161 ff.; Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, art. "Zoll;" Levy, *Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, iii. 114. — That by מוכסין tax-gatherers in the proper sense are to be understood, is seen from the usage of that word (מכסא, מכסיא) in the customs-tariff of Palmyra.

[109] *Kelim* xvii. 16, speaks of "a walking-stick with a secret place for pearls," *i.e.* for the purpose of defrauding the revenue. — In treating of the prohibition against wearing garments made of a mixture of linen and wool (Lev. xix. 19; Deut. xxii. 11), *Kilajim* ix. 2, remarks, that this is allowed under no circumstances, "not even in order to defraud the revenue" (לְגַנּוֹב הַמֶּכֶס). — In this connection, also, may be quoted the passage *Shabbath* viii. 2, where, as an example of a small piece of paper which, on the Sabbath, ought not to be carried from one place to another, a קֶשֶׁר of the tax-gatherer's is mentioned. The expositors understand by the word, a receipt which has been given at one customs office so that the party might pass free at the next, say on the other side of the river. The philological explanation is certainly beset with difficulty, since קשר elsewhere means "binding" (*e.g.* a knot on a string, or a joint in a human

Within the limits, which were stated in the very regulations themselves, the Jewish people enjoyed even yet a very considerable measure of freedom in home affairs and self-administration.[110] — The oath of allegiance which the people had to take to the emperor, presumably on every change of government, was, if we may judge from analogous cases, more an oath of confederates than one of subjects, such as had been given even so early as the times of Herod.[111] — The constitution as regards home affairs, during the age of the procurators, is characterized by Josephus, in opposition to the monarchial rule of Herod and Archelaus, in the words:[112] *ἀριστοκρατία μὲν ἦν ἡ πολιτεία, τὴν δὲ προστασίαν τοῦ ἔθνους οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ἐπεπίστευντο.* He sees, therefore, in the change which took place after the deposition of Archelaus, a transition from monarchy to aristocracy, because he, and that not incorrectly, considers the Roman procurator only as an overseer, but the aristocratic Sanhedrim as the real governing body. He who held the office of high priest for the time, who also held the presidency of the Sanhedrim, is called by Josephus *προστάτης τοῦ ἔθνους*. Yet certainly these very high priests were set up and removed at the arbitrary pleasure of the overseer. But even in this matter the Romans restrained themselves within certain limits. Whereas during the period A.D. 6–41 the appointments had been made by the Roman governors, either the legate of Syria or the procurator of Judea, during the the period A.D. 44–66 the right of appointment was transferred to the Jewish princes, Herod of Chalcis and Agrippa II., although these did not reign in Judea. And in both periods

body). May it not mean a piece of paper, by which a "connection" between two customs offices is established?

110 Compare on what follows, Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 511 ff.

111 Compare generally, vol. i. p. 445. — We have clear evidence of the taking of an oath on the accession of Caligula; Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 3.

112 Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 10 *fin.*

the appointments were not made in a purely arbitrary manner, but respect was paid to the claims of certain families (Phabi, Boethos, Ananus, Kamith).[113]

Of greater importance is the fact that the Sanhedrim exercised to a very large extent the right of legislating and of executing the law, to a larger extent indeed than on the average was the case among non-autonomous communities in the Roman empire.[114] The state of the law was in general this, that the communities recognised by Rome as "free" or "autonomous" had expressly guaranteed to them the right of passing and executing their own laws, in fact, even over Roman citizens dwelling within their bounds. In the subject, non-autonomous communities, to which Judea belonged, the practical state of matters was very nearly the same;[115] but

[113] For the proofs, see Div. II. vol. i. pp. 197–206, and my treatise on the ἀρχιερεῖς in the New Testament (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1872, pp. 593–657). — On the presidency of the high priest in the Sanhedrim, Div. II. vol. i. pp. 180–184.

[114] On the position of non-autonomous subjects, see Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, iii. 1. 716–764, especially 744 ff.—The singular position of Judea has prominence given to it in a rather one-sided manner by Geib, *Geschichte des römischen Criminalprocesses*, p. 485 f.: "Only one province . . . namely, Judea, at least in the earlier days of the empire, formed an exception to all the arrangements hitherto described. Whereas in the other provinces the whole criminal jurisdiction was in the hands of the governor, and only in the most important cases had the supreme imperial courts to decide, just as in the least important matters the municipal courts did; the principle that applied in Judea was that at least in regard to questions of religious offence the high priest with the Sanhedrim could pronounce even death sentences, for the carrying out of which, however, the confirmation of the procurator was required."—This representation of Geib is therefore incorrect, inasmuch as it confounds the position of Judea in the earlier days of the empire with its general condition in the later imperial age. Compare, on the other hand, Mommsen, *l.c.*

[115] Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, iii. 1, p. 748: "In regard to the extent of application, the jurisdiction of the native courts and judicatories among subject communities can scarcely have been much more restricted than among the federated communities; while in administration and in civil jurisdiction we find the same principles operative as in legal procedure and criminal law."

with this twofold restriction: (1) That this practical state of matters was not guaranteed them; and (2) that the Roman citizens residing within their bounds had their own law and their own judicatories. The first point was of most importance. The Roman authorities could, in consequence of it, interfere at pleasure in the legislation and in the administration of the law in non-autonomous communities. In Judea this right seems to have been taken advantage only to a very limited extent. It may be assumed that the administration of the civil law was wholly in the hands of the Sanhedrim and native or local magistrates: Jewish courts decided according to Jewish law. But even in the criminal law this was almost invariably the case, only with this exception, that death sentences required to be confirmed by the Roman procurator. In such case the procurator decided if he pleased according to the standard of the Jewish law, as is shown in the trial of Jesus Christ.[116] Even Roman citizens were not wholly exempt from the requirements of the Jewish law. When, indeed, the procurator Festus proposed to judge the Apostle Paul according to Jewish law, this was frustrated by the objection of the apostle (see above, p. 59). But the Jewish law, that no Gentile should be allowed to enter the inner court of the temple, was recognised by the Roman authorities, and any one who transgressed it was punished with death, even if he were a Roman citizen.[117] There was

[116] More details in Div. II. vol. i. pp. 186–190.

[117] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vi. 2. 4; also confirmed by the inscription discovered by Clermont-Ganneau. Compare Div. II. vol. i. pp. 188, 265. This point is also of importance in forming an estimate of the trial of the Apostle Paul; for a principal charge brought against him by the Jews was that he had taken with him into the temple a "Greek," Trophimus (Acts xxi. 28, 29). The endeavour was therefore made to impress the procurator with the idea that Paul was deserving of punishment even according to the Roman law, since he had committed an offence against a specific enactment. Compare especially, Acts xxiv. 6: ὃς καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπείρασεν βεβηλῶσαι. The charge was not indeed valid, since that enact-

only one limitation to the far-reaching application of this right, and that certainly a very important one; the procurator and his agents could at any time interfere according to their own discretion.

The Jewish worship was not only tolerated, but, as the enactment just referred to with regard to the temple shows, stood under State protection.[118] The cosmopolitan tendency, which characterized the pagan piety of the time, made it quite possible for distinguished Romans to present gifts to the Jewish temple, and even to offer sacrifices there.[119] The oversight of the temple by the State, especially of the administration of its large finances, seems to have been carried out during the period A.D. 6–41 by means of the Roman authorities. During the period A.D. 44–66 it was transferred to the same Jewish princes who had also received the right of appointing the high priests, namely, Herod of Chalcis, and then Agrippa II.[120] A restriction in the freedom of worship, which was in itself quite harmless, but was regarded by the

ment of the law would have affected only Trophimus, and not Paul. Besides, it seems that Paul had not really taken Trophimus with him into the temple. Compare, ἐνόμιζον, Acts xxi. 29.

[118] This protection extended also to the synagogue services and the Holy Scriptures. When the pagan inhabitants of Dora had placed a statue of the emperor in the Jewish synagogue there, the council of the city was ordered by the legate Petronius to deliver up the guilty parties, and to take care that such outrages should not occur in future (Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 6. 3). A soldier, who had wantonly torn up a Thorah roll, was put to death by the procurator Cumanus (Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 5. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 2).

[119] Even the Emperor Augustus and his wife sent brazen wine vessels to the temple at Jerusalem, ἀκρατοφόροι (*Wars of the Jews*, v. 13. 6) and other costly presents (Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 23 and sec. 40, ed. Mangey, ii. 569 *init.*, 592 *fin.*). Marcus Agrippa, on the occasion of his visit to Jerusalem, gave presents (Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 37, ed. Mangey, ii. 589), and offered as a sacrifice a hundred oxen (Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 2. 1). Also Vitellius sacrificed there (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 3). Compare generally, Div. II. vol. i. pp. 299–305.

[120] Herod of Chalcis, Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 1. 3: τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ νεῶ καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων.—Agrippa II.: *Antiq.* xx. 9. 7: τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ

Jews as oppressive, was set aside in A.D. 36. During the period A.D. 6–36 the beautiful robe of the high priest was in the keeping of the Roman commandant in the fort of Antonia, and was only four times in the year, at the three chief feasts and on the Day of Atonement, brought forth for use. At the request of the Jews, in A.D. 36, Vitellius ordered that the robe should be given up. And when the procurator Cuspius Fadius, in A.D. 44, wished again to have the robe put under Roman control, a Jewish embassy went to Rome and procured a rescript from the Emperor Claudius by which the order of Vitellius was confirmed.[121]

Great deference was shown to the religious opinions of the Jews. Whereas in all other provinces the worship of the emperor was zealously insisted upon, and was claimed as a matter of course by the emperor as a proof of respect, no demand of this sort, except in the time of Caligula, was ever made of the Jews. The authorities were satisfied with requiring that twice a day in the temple at Jerusalem a sacrifice was made "for Caesar and the Roman people." The sacrifice for the whole day consisted in two lambs and an ox, and, according to Philo, was provided by Augustus himself, *ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων προσόδων*, whereas the opinion of Josephus is that it was made at the cost of the Jewish people.[122] Also on extraordinary occasions the Jewish people evidenced their loyal sentiments by a great sacrifice in honour of the emperor.[123] In the Diaspora the emperor was remembered

ἱεροῦ.—On the administration of the finances of the temple, see Div. II. vol. i. pp. 260–264.

[121] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 3, xx. 1. 1–2, xv. 11. 4. Compare, on this beautiful robe of the high priest, Div. II. vol. i. p. 256. On the conquest of Jerusalem by Titus it fell into the hands of the Romans (Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vi. 8. 3).

[122] Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 23 and sec. 40, Mangey, ii. 569, 592); Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 10. 4, 17. 2–4; *Against Apion*, ii. 6 *fin.* Further details in Div. II. vol. i. p. 303.

[123] This was done thrice over in the time of Caligula, Philo, *Legat. ad*

in the prayers of the synagogue, which, however, cannot be proved to have been the case in Palestine.[123a] Next to the worship of the emperor, the emperor's images on the coins and the standards of the soldiers were specially offensive to the Jews. But in these matters also they were treated with tolerance. It could not, indeed, be avoided that Roman denaria with the figure of the emperor should circulate in Judea (Matt. xxii. 20; Mark xii. 16; Luke xx. 24), for silver and gold coins were not minted in Judea. But the copper coinage restored to the country bore, even in the time of the direct Roman rule, as well as in the times of the Herodians, no human likeness, but only the name of the emperor and inoffensive emblems.[124] The troops were required

Cajum, sec. 45 (Mangey, ii. 598); compare also sec. 32 (Mangey, ii. 580: the offering presented on the occasion of his accession).

[123a] Philo, *In Flaccum*, sec. 7 (ed. Mangey, ii. 524): "If one robbed the Jews of the Proseuche or synagogue, he thus made it impossible to them τὴν εἰς τοὺς εὐεργέτας εὐσέβειαν . . . οὐκ ἔχοντες ἱεροὺς περιβόλους οἷς ἐνδιαθήσονται τὸ εὐχάριστον . . . Thereby he gives not, but robs τοῖς κυρίοις τιμήν. For the Proseuchae are for all Jews ὁρμητήρια τῆς εἰς τὸν σεβαστὸν οἶκον ὁσιότητος . . . ὧν ἡμῖν ἀναιρεθεισῶν τίς ἕτερος ἀπολείπεται τόπος ἢ τρόπος τιμῆς;"—That this standpoint was not an unusual one even among rabbinical Jews is shown by *Aboth* iii. 2; see the words quoted in Div. II. vol. i. p. 304. Yet, so far as I know, there is no proof that prayer was offered up for the emperor in the synagogues of Palestine. Indeed, considering the opinions prevailing there, it is extremely improbable that such prayers should have been offered.

[124] Compare, on the coins minted in Judea in the time of the procurators, Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 497 sq.; Mionnet, *Descript. de médailles*, v. 552–555, *Suppl.* viii. 377; Cavedoni, *Biblische Numismatik*, i. 64–73, 159–162; De Saulcy, *Revue Numismatique*, 1853, pp. 186–201; De Saulcy, *Recherches*, etc., 1854, pp. 138–146, 149 sq., pl. viii., ix.; Cavedoni, *Biblische Numismatik*, ii. 39–53; Mommsen, *Geschichte des römischen Münzwesens*, 1860, p. 719; Levy, *Geschichte der jüdischen Münzen*, pp. 74–79; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 134–153; Cavedoni in Grote's *Münzstudien*, v. 27–29; De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, 1874, pp. 69–78, pl. iii.–iv.; Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1875, pp. 169–195; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, pp. 170–187; Stickel, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, vii. 1884, pp. 212, 213; Pick, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Bd. xiv. 1887, pp. 306–308.—On the coins of Augustus with the superscription Καίσαρος, we meet with the year numbers 33, 36, 39, 40, 41. If the

in Jerusalem to dispense with standards having on them the likeness of the emperor. The wanton attempt of Pilate to break through this custom was frustrated by the violent opposition of the people. Pilate found himself compelled to withdraw again the imperial likenesses from Jerusalem.[125]

number 33 is the correct reading, then we must, as Mommsen first conjectured, assume as the starting-point of the Augustan era the 1st of January 727 A.U.C., or B.C. 27. According to this reckoning, the coins belong to the period 759–767 A.U.C., or A.D. 6–14, which harmonizes perfectly with historical circumstances. As this era is otherwise unknown, Pick, in *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, xiv. 306–308, doubts as to the existence of the coins with the number 33, and assumes the Actian era with autumn A.U.C. 723 as its starting-point. Thus the year 36 would be A.U.C. 758–759. The existence of the coins with the number 33 seems, however, to be well established. See especially Madden and Stickel in works quoted above. The coins of Tiberius, with, for the most part, the name written in the abbreviated form Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, are dated by the years of Tiberius' reign; we have examples of the numbers 2, 3, 4 up to 18. On many the name of Julia occurs along with that of Tiberius, and, indeed, this is so up to the year of Tiberius 16, *i.e.* A.D. 29, the year in which Julia (Livia) died. Many coins bore only the name of Julia. There are coins of Claudius of the 13th and 14th year of his reign; and coins of Nero of the 5th year. On the latter stands only the name of the emperor; on those of Claudius there is also the name of his wife, Julia Agrippina.

[125] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 2–3. In reference to the military flags and standards, as Domaszewski has shown (Domaszewski, *Die Fahnen im römischen Heere, Abhandlungen des archäolog.-epigraph. Seminares der Universität Wien*, 5 Heft 1885), two different classes are to be distinguished: (1) Those which were used for tactical purposes, and (2) those which had only a symbolical significance. The former were by far the most numerous: to the latter belonged the eagles of the legions and the *signa* which bore the figure of the emperor. Mommsen indeed believes, however, that even to them should be assigned a certain tactical significance; see *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn Jahrgang*, x. 1886, p. 1 ff. The figures of the emperor were in the form of a medallion, and were usually attached to the *signa*. Among the legionaries, as well as among the auxiliary cohorts we hear of *imaginiferi* (see list in Cauer, *Ephemeris epigr.* iv. pp. 372–374). —The earlier procurators, therefore, had taken with them to Jerusalem only the *signa* which did not bear the figure of the emperor, that is, the common ones used for tactical purposes; but Pilato took also those bearing the figure of the emperor.

When Vitellius, the legate of Syria, took the field against the Arabian king Aretas, at the urgent entreaty of the Jews, he so directed the course of his march that the troops carrying the likeness of the emperor on their standards should not enter Jewish territory.[126]

So far, then, as the civil enactments and the orders of the supreme authorities were concerned, the Jews could not complain of any want of consideration being paid them. It was otherwise, however, with respect to the practical carrying out of details. The average Roman official was always disposed to disregard all such nice, delicate consideration. And the unfortunate thing was, that Judea, especially in the last decades before the war, had had more than one governor who had lost all sense of right and wrong. Besides this, notwithstanding the most painstaking efforts to show indulgence to Jewish views and feelings, the existing relations were in themselves, according to Jewish ideas, an insult to all the lofty, divine privileges of the chosen people, who, instead of paying tribute to Caesar, were called rather to rule over all nations of the world.[126a]

Their first administrative measures which they introduced there show how hard a task the incorporation of Judea into the empire proved to the Romans. Contemporaneously with the appointment of Coponius, the first procurator of Judea,

[126] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 3.

[126a] This was, at least, the popular sentiment. From these religious premisses in themselves one might, indeed, arrive at the very opposite result, namely, that even the pagan government was of God, and that it must be submitted to so long as God wills. But this way of considering the subject was not in favour during the period A.D. 6–66, and, as the years went on, those who held it were in an ever-decreasing minority. Compare generally on the political attitude of Pharisaism, Div. II. vol. ii. pp. 17–19.

the emperor had sent a new legate, Quirinius, into Syria. It was now the duty of the legate to take a census of the population of the newly-acquired territory, in order that the taxes might be appointed according to the Roman method. But no sooner had Quirinius, in A.D. 6 or A.D. 7, begun to carry out his commission, than he was met with opposition on every hand. Only the quieting representations of the high priest Joazar, who clearly perceived that open rebellion would be of no avail, led to the gradual abandonment of the opposition that had already begun, and then the people with mute resignation submitted to the inevitable, so that, at last, the census was made up.[127] It was, however, no enduring peace, but only a truce of uncertain duration. Judas of Gamala in Gaulanitis, called the Galilean, who is certainly identical with that Judas, son of Hezekiah, of whom we have already learnt on p. 4, in company with a Pharisee of the name of Sadduc, made it his task to rouse the people into opposition, and in the name of religion to preach rebellion and revolutionary war. This movement had not, indeed, any immediate marked success. But the revolutionists got so far as to found now among the Pharisees a more strict fanatical party, that of the patriotic resolutes, or, as they called themselves, the Zealots, who wished not to remain in quiet submission till by God's decree the Messianic hope of Israel should be fulfilled, but would rather employ the sword in hastening its realization, and would rush into conflict with the godless enemy.[128] It is

[127] According to Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 1, in the 37th year of the *aera Actiaca, i.e.* autumn, 759–760 A.U.C., or A.D. 6–7. The Actian era begins on 2nd Sept. 723 A.U.C. or B.C. 31.

[128] *Ζηλωταί*, compare Luke vi. 15; Acts i. 13; *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 3. 9, 5. 1, 6. 3, vii. 8. 1.—For the Biblico-Hebraic קַנָּא we find in later Hebrew also קַנָּאי and קַנָּאן (see Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chaldaicum;* Levy, *Chaldaisches Wörterbuch;* Levy, *Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*). The Greek Καναναῖος is constructed out of the later form of the word through the modification of the plural, קַנָּאנִיא, as ought to be used in Matt. x. 4, Mark iii. 18, instead

to their machinations that we are to ascribe the nursing of the fires of revolution among the smouldering ashes which sixty years later burst forth in vehement flames.[129]

Of Coponius and some of his successors little more is known to us than their names. Altogether there were seven procurators who administered Judea during the period A.D. 6–41: (1) Coponius, probably A.D. 6–9; (2) Marcus Ambivius, probably A.D. 9–12; (3) Annius Rufus, probably A.D. 12–15; (4) Valerius Gratus, A.D. 15–26; (5) Pontius Pilatus, A.D. 26–36; (6) Marcellus, A.D. 36–37; (7) Marullus, A.D. 37–41.[130] The long period during which Valerius Gratus

of the received Καναίτης.—In the Mishna, *Sanhedrin* ix. 6, and *Aboth derabbi Nathan* c. 6, we have קַנָּאִין or קַנָּאִים. In the former passage, however, are meant, not political, but religious zealots.—Compare generally: Oppenheim, "Die Kannaim oder Zeloten" in Fürst's *Literaturblatt des Orients*, 1849, col. 289–292; Pressel, art. "Zeloten" in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 1 Aufl. xviii. 485–489; Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, p. 238; Holtzmann in Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*, v. 707–709; Reuss, *Geschichte der heiligen Schriften der Alten Testaments*, § 560; Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopaedie für Bibel und Talmud*, 2 Abth. pp. 1286–1296; Sieffert in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 2 Aufl. xvii. 488–491; Wolf, *Curae philol.*; Kuinoel, Fritzsche, Meyer, Bleek, and other commentators, on Matt. x. 4.

[129] Compare generally: Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 1 and 6; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 8. 1; Acts v. 37. Art. "Judas" in the Biblical Dictionaries. Chr. Alfr. Körner, "Judas von Gamala" (*Jahresbericht der Lausitzer Prediger-Gesellschaft zu Leipzig*, 1883–1884, pp. 5–12).—Also the descendants of Judas distinguished themselves as Zealots. His sons James and Simon were executed by Tiberius Alexander (*Antiq.* xx. 5. 2); his son Menachem (Manaim) was one of the principal leaders at the beginning of the rebellion in A.D. 66 (*Wars of the Jews*, ii. 17. 8–9). A descendant of Judas and relative of Menahem of the name of Eleasar conducted the defence of Masada in A.D. 73 (*Wars of the Jews*, ii. 17. 9, vii. 8. 1 ff.).—A literary memorial of the views and hopes of the Zealots is the *Assumptio Mosis*, which had its origin about that time (see Div. II. vol. iii. pp. 73–80), which goes so far in the way of prophecy as to say that Israel will tread on "the neck of the eagle," *i.e.* of the Romans (10. 8). Compare Div. II. vol. ii. pp. 144, 183.

[130] Compare Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 2, 4. 2, 6. 10 *fin.*—The period during which the first three held office cannot be quite exactly determined. That of the two following is fixed by the facts that Valerius Gratus was in office for eleven years (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 2) and Pontius Pilate

and Pontius Pilate held office was owing to the general principles on which Tiberius proceeded in his appointment of governors. In the interest of the provinces he left them as long as possible at their posts, because he thought that governors acted like flies upon the body of a wounded animal; if once they were gorged, they would become more moderate in their exactions, whereas new men began their rapacious proceedings afresh.[131]

Among those named, Pontius Pilate is of special interest to us, not only as the judge of Jesus Christ, but also because he is the only one of whom we have any detailed account in Josephus and Philo.[132] Philo, or rather Agrippa I., in the letter which Philo communicates as written by him, describes

for ten years (xviii. 4. 2). But Pilate was deprived of his office before Vitellius was in Jerusalem for the first time, *i.e.* shortly before Easter A.D. 36, as results from a comparison of *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 3 with xviii. 5. 3. The period during which the last two held office is determinedly this, that Marullus was installed immediately after the accession of Caligula in March A.D. 37 (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 10 *fin.*).—Eusebius affirms (*Hist. Eccl.* i. 9) that Josephus sets the date of Pilate's entrance upon office in the twelfth year of Tiberius, A.D. 25 and 26, which is only so far correct, that this conclusion may be deduced from Josephus.

[131] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 5.—Tiberius' care for the provinces is also witnessed to by Suetonius (*Tiberius*, 23: "praesidibus onerandas tributo provincias suadentibus rescripsit: boni pastoris esse tondere pecus, non deglubere"). Tacitus also, in *Annals*, i. 80, iv. 6, speaks of the long periods granted to governors. For an estimate of Tiberius, compare especially Keim's article in Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*, v. 528-535.

[132] Compare in regard to him, besides the literature referred to on p. 38: Mounier, *De Pontii Pilati in causa servatoris agendi ratione*, Lugd. Bat. 1825; Leyrer, art. "Pilatus" in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 2 Aufl. xi. pp. 685-687; Klöpper in Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*, iv. 581-585; Renan, *Life of Jesus*, chap. xxvii.: "Fate of the Enemies of Jesus;" Warneck, *Pontius Pilatus der Richter Jesu Christi. Ein Gemälde aus der Leidensgeschichte*, Gotha 1867; Rosières, *Ponce Pilate*, Paris 1883; Woltjer, *Pontius Pilatus, sene studie*, Amsterdam 1888; Arnold, *Die neronische Christenverfolgung*, 1888, pp. 116-120 (on the mention of Pilate in Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 44); Gustav Adolf Müller, *Pontius Pilatus der fünfte Procurator von Judaea und Richter Jesu von Nazareth*, Stuttgart 1888 (gives at pp. v-viii a list of the special literature on Pilate from the beginning of the art of printing down to the present time, more than a hundred names).

him as of an "unbending and recklessly hard character" (*τὴν φύσιν ἀκαμπὴς καὶ μετὰ τοῦ αὐθάδους ἀμείλικτος*), and gives a very bad account of his official administration. "Corruptibility, violence, robberies, ill-treatment of the people, grievances, continuous executions without even the form of a trial, endless and intolerable cruelties," are charged against him.[133] The very first act by which Pilate introduced himself into office was characteristic of him who treated with contempt the Jewish customs and privileges. Care had constantly been taken by the earlier procurators that the troops entering Jerusalem should not carry flags having the figure of the emperor, in order that the religious feelings of the Jews should not be offended by the sight of them (see in regard to these, above, p. 78). Pilate, on the other hand, to whom such tolerance appeared unworthy weakness, caused the garrison soldiers of Jerusalem to enter the city by night with the figure of the emperor on their flags. When the news spread among the people, they flocked out in crowds to Caesarea, and besieged the procurator with entreaties for five days and nights that the offensive articles might be removed. At last, on the sixth day, Pilate admitted the people into the race-course, into which at the same time he had ordered a detachment of soldiers. When the Jews also here again repeated their complaints, he gave a signal, upon which the soldiers surrounded the people on all sides with drawn swords. But the Jews remained stedfast, bared their necks, and declared that they would rather die than submit to a breach of the law. As further opposition seemed to Pilate hazardous, he gave orders to remove the offensive images from Jerusalem.[134]

[133] Philo, *De Legatione ad Cajum*, sec. 38, ed. Mangey, ii. 590 : *τὰς δωροδοκίας, τὰς ὕβρεις, τὰς ἁρπαγάς, τὰς αἰκίας, τὰς ἐπηρείας, τοὺς ἀκρίτους καὶ ἐπαλλήλους φόνους, τὴν ἀνήνυτον καὶ ἀργαλεωτάτην ὠμότητα.*

[134] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 1 ; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 2–3 ; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 6. 4.—According to Eusebius, *Demonstratio evangelica*, viii.

A new storm burst forth when on one occasion he applied the rich treasures of the temple to the certainly very useful purpose of building an aqueduct to Jerusalem. Such an appropriation of the sacred treasures was no less offensive than the introduction of the figures of the emperor. When, therefore, he once went to Jerusalem while the building was being proceeded with, he was again surrounded by a complaining and shrieking crowd. But he had previously obtained information of the projected outburst, and had given orders to the soldiers to mix among the people dressed in citizen garb armed with clubs. When the multitude therefore began to make complaints and to present petitions, he gave the preconcerted signal, whereupon the soldiers drew forth their clubs which they had concealed under their upper garments, and mercilessly beat down the helpless crowds. Many lost their lives in this melee. The opposition to the useful undertaking was thus indeed crushed; but also the popular hatred against Pilate was stirred up afresh.[135]

p. 403, this story has also been reported by Philo in portions of his work on the persecutions of the Jews under Tiberius and Caligula, which are no longer extant (*αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα καὶ ὁ Φίλων συμμαρτυρεῖ, τὰς σημαίας Φάσκων τὰς βασιλικὰς τὸν Πιλάτον νύκτωρ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀναθεῖναι*). Compare in regard to this question, Div. II. vol. iii. p. 349.

[135] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 4; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 6. 6–7.—The length of the aqueduct is given by Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 2, at two hundred stadia; in *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 4, at four hundred; so at least is it in our text of Josephus, whereas in his rendering of the latter passage Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 6. 6) makes it three hundred stadia. In any case, according to these measurements, there can be no doubt that the reference is to the aqueduct from the so-called pool of Solomon south-west of Bethlehem. From thence to Jerusalem two aqueducts were built in ancient times, of which the ruins of the one are discernible; the other is still preserved in comparative completeness. 1. The former is the shorter, and runs upon a higher level; it begins south of the pool of Solomon in the Wady Bijar, then goes through the pool, and thence without any further deviations straight to Jerusalem. 2. The one that is still completed is longer and lies lower; it begins still farther south in the Wady Arrub, passes then also through the pool, and thence with great windings to Jerusalem. The latter conduit is certainly

The New Testament also contains hints about the popular uprisings in the time of Pilate. "There were present at that season," so runs the narrative in Luke xiii. 1, "some that told Jesus of the Galileans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices." This statement is to be understood as indicating that Pilate had put to the sword a number of Galileans while they were engaged in the act of presenting their offerings at Jerusalem. But nothing more definite as to this incident is known. And just as little do we know about "those who had made insurrection, and had committed murder in the insurrection" (Mark xv. 7; comp. Luke

the more modern; for, on account of the more remote derivation of the water, the aqueduct running on the higher level could no longer be used, and so a new one had to be built. Its length, owing to the long windings, reaches to about 400 stadia, although the direct line would measure much less than half that distance. When it had become dilapidated, during the Middle Ages, earthenware pipes were placed in it. In its original form it was probably identical with the building of Pilate. Many, however, owing to the absence of any trace of the characteristics of Roman building, hold it to have been still older than the time of Pilate, and suppose that Pilate only restored it. But this theory is directly in opposition to the words of Josephus. That the aqueduct of Pilate ran along the course taken by this water conduit, may be regarded as highly probable.—In the Jerusalem Talmud we find the statement that an aqueduct led from Etam to the temple (*Jer. Yoma*, iii. fol. 41, in Lightfoot, *Descriptio templi*, c. 23, *Opera*, i. 612). In fact, Etam (עֵיטָם), according to 2 Chron. xi. 6, lay between Bethlehem and Tekoa, unquestionably at the spring which is now called Ain Atan, in the immediate neighbourhood of Solomon's pool (compare Mühlau in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch*, art. "Etam;" Schick, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, i. 152 f.).—The most exact description of the present condition of the two conduits is given by Schick, "Die Wasserversorgung der Stadt Jerusalem" (*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, i. 1887, pp. 132–176, with map and plans).—Compare also: Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvi. 272 ff.; Tobler, *Topographie von Jerusalem*, ii. 84–95 (very full in its historical material); an anonymous article, "Water Supply of Jerusalem, ancient and modern" (*Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record*, new series, vol. v. 1864, pp. 133–157; Zschokke, "Die versiegelt Quelle Salomos" (*Theolog. Quartalschrift*, 1867, pp. 426–442); *The Recovery of Jerusalem*, 1871, pp. 233–267; and generally the geographical literature mentioned in vol. i. pp. 16–20.

xxiii. 19), to whom among others that Barabbas belonged, whose liberation the Jews demanded of Pilate.

Probably to the later days of Pilate belongs an occurrence about which we are informed in the letter of Agrippa I. to Caligula, which is communicated by Philo. Pilate had learnt from the outburst at Caesarea that the setting up of the figures of the emperor in Jerusalem could not be carried out against the stubborn resistance of the Jews. He thought he now, at least, might attempt the introduction of votive shields without figures, on which the name of the emperor was written. Such shields, richly gilt, did he set up in what had been the palace of Herod, which Pilate himself was now wont to occupy, "less for the honour of Tiberius than for the annoyance of the Jewish people." But the people would not tolerate even this. First of all, in company with the nobles and with the four sons of Herod, who were then present in Jerusalem attending a feast, they applied to Pilate in order to induce him to remove the shields. When their prayer proved unsuccessful, the most distinguished men, among whom certainly were those four sons of Herod, addressed a petition to the emperor, asking that he should order the removal of the offensive shields. Tiberius, who plainly perceived that it was a piece of purely wanton bravado on the part of Pilate, ordered the governor on pain of his severe displeasure to remove at once the shields from Jerusalem, and to have them set up in the temple of Augustus at Caesarea. This accordingly was done. "And thus were preserved both the honour of the emperor and the ancient customs of the city."[136]

[136] Philo, *De Legatione ad Cajum*, sec. 38, ed. Mangey, ii. 589 sq.—That the incident occurred in the later years of Pilate is probable from the decisiveness of the tone of Tiberius; for, according to Philo, *Leg. ad Cajum*, sec. 34, ed. Mangey, ii. 569, Tiberius assumed a friendly attitude toward the Jews only after the death of Sejanus in A.D. 31. Sejanus was, according to Philo, an arch-enemy of the Jews. To his influence is

At last by his utter recklessness Pilate brought about his own overthrow. It was an old belief among the Samaritans that on the mountain of Gerizim the sacred utensils of the temple had been buried since Moses' times.[137] A Samaritan pseudo-prophet once promised in A.D. 35 to show these sacred things if the people would assemble on Mount Gerizim. The light-minded multitude gave him a hearing, and in great crowds the Samaritans gathered together armed in the village of Tirathana at the fort of Mount Gerizim, so that from thence they might ascend the mountain and behold the sacred spectacle. But before they could carry out their project, they were arrested by Pilate in the village by a strong force, a portion of them was slain, a portion hunted in flight, and again another portion cast into prison. Of those imprisoned also Pilate had the most powerful and the most distinguished put to death.[138] But the Samaritans were convinced that no revolutionary intentions lay to the basis of their pilgrimage to Gerizim, and so they complained of Pilate to Vitellius, the legate in Syria at that time. Their complaints had actually this result, that Vitellius sent Pilate to Rome to answer for his conduct, while he made over the administration of Judea to Marcellus.[139]

ascribed both the expulsion of the Jews from Rome in A.D. 19, and the harsh treatment of Pilate in Judea.

[137] Compare also: Petermann in Herzog, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 1 Aufl. xiii. 373; Kautzsch, Herzog, *Real-Encylop.* 2 Aufl. xiii. 346, 348.

[138] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 1.

[139] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 2. Pilate must have taken about a year on his journey from Judea to Rome, for he did not arrive in Rome until after the death of Tiberius (*Antiq. l.c.*). His subsequent fortunes are not told by Josephus.—The Christian legend makes Pilate either end his own life by suicide, or suffer death at the hands of the emperor as punishment for his proceedings against Christ. 1. In regard to the story about his suicide, Eusebius refers in his *Church History* to the Greek chroniclers, who "have made a list of the Olympiads together with the occurrences that took place in each" (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 7: ἱστοροῦσιν Ἑλλήνων οἱ τὰς Ὀλυμπιάδας ἅμα τοῖς κατὰ χρόνους πεπραγμένοις ἀναγράψαντες).

Soon thereafter, at the Passover festival of A.D. 36,[140] Vitellius himself went to Jerusalem, and won for himself on

In the *Chronicle* he mentions as his source "the Roman historians' (Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 150 sq.: (*a*) According to the Armenian: "Pontius Pilatus in varias calamitates implicitus sibi ipsi manus inferebat. Narrant autem qui Romanorum res scriptis mandaverunt." (*b*) According to Syncellus, ed. Dindorf, i. 624: Πόντιος Πιλᾶτος ἐπὶ Γαΐου Καίσαρος ποικίλαις περιπεσὼν συμφοραῖς, ὡς φασιν οἱ τὰ Ῥωμαίων συγγραψάμενοι, αὐτοφονευτὴς ἑαυτοῦ ἐγένετο. (*c*) According to Jerome, "Pontius Pilatus in multas incidens calamitates propria se manu interficit. Scribunt Romanorum historici"). The verbal agreement of the *Chronicle* with the *Church History* (comp. *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 6: τοσαύταις περιπεσεῖν . . . συμφοραῖς . . . αὐτοφονευτήν) shows that on both occasions Eusebius used the same source. Cedrenus, ed. Bekker, i. 343, and Orosius, vii. 5. 8, are derived directly or indirectly from Eusebius. The legend of Pilate's suicide is further expanded and adorned in the apocryphal literature, *e.g.* in the *Mors Pilati* in Tischendorf's *Evangelia apocrypha*, 1876, pp. 456–458 (the demons crowding around his corpse utter forth dreadful shrieks, so that the body is transported from Rome to Vienne on the Rhine, and thence to Lausanne, until at last the people of Lausanne "a se removerunt et in quodam puteo montibus circumsepto immerserunt, ubi adhuc . . . diabolicae machinationes ebullire dicuntur").—2. According to another form of the Christian legend, Pilate was executed by Nero. So Malalas, ed. Dindorf, pp. 250–257; Johannes Antiochenus in Müller, *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, iv. 574 (also in Fabricius, *Cod. apocryph. N. T.* iii. 504 sq.); Suidas, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Νέρων; *Chronicon paschale*, ed. Dindorf, i. 459. According to the apocryphal Παράδοσις Πιλάτου it was Tiberius who caused Pilate to be executed. See text in Thilo, *Codex apocryph. N. T.* pp. 813–816; Tischendorf, *Evang. apocryph.* pp. 449–455. According to this account Pilate dies as a penitent Christian. Compare generally on the Pilate legend, besides the literature referred to above on p. 82, Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, vi. 185.

[140] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 3, says that it was at the time of a Passover feast. That it was the Passover of A.D. 36 may be deduced partly from the fact that Vitellius did not arrive in Syria before the summer or autumn of A.D. 35 (Tacitus, *Annals*, vi. 32), partly from the fact that on the second visit of Vitellius to Jerusalem he received the tidings of the death of Tiberius on 16th March A.D. 37 (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 3). Between the first and the second visit of Vitellius to Jerusalem, however, we must suppose that a considerable time had passed. Compare especially, Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, vi. 226–230; Sevin, *Chronologie des Lebens Jesu* (2 Aufl. 1874), pp. 75–80; also Lewin, *Fasti sacri*, p. lxvii., p. 247, n. 1493; Rhoden, *De Palaestina et Arabia provinciis Romanis*, 1885, p. 33 sq.

that occasion the goodwill of the inhabitants of the capital, for he remitted the taxes on the fruits sold in the city, and gave up for free use the high priest's robe, which since A.D. 6 had lain in the possession of the Romans.[141]

After he had meanwhile been occupied with the Parthian expedition (see above, p. 34), the campaign against Aretas, which he had been ordered by Tiberius in the spring of A.D. 37 to undertake, led him again to Jerusalem (see above, p. 33). On this occasion also he again established a good understanding by showing consideration for Jewish sentiments. The way from Antioch to Petra had led him, together with his army, through Judea proper. But the Roman standards, as is well known, were offensive to the Jews. They therefore sent to Vitellius at Ptolemais an embassy, which entreated him with tears that he should not lead his army through the Holy Land. Vitellius was so reasonable as to perceive the grounds of their request, caused the army to march through the Great Plain, and went himself alone to Jerusalem. On the fourth day of his stay there he received tidings of Tiberius' death, whereupon he led his whole army back to Antioch.[142]

[141] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 3, xv. 11. 4.

[142] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 3.—The designation the "Great Plain" was plainly used for two plains in Palestine, as has been shown in a convincing manner by Reland, *Palaestina*, pp. 359–370. (1) Most frequently this designation is used for the plain which begins at Ptolemais and stretches thence to the northern slope of Carmel in a south-easterly direction. At its south-eastern end lies the famous battlefield of Jezreel (יִזְרְעֶאל, also *Esdraelon*), after which the plain is also named. Compare Judith i. 5, also i. 8: τὸ μέγα πεδίον Ἐσδρηλώμ; 1 Macc. xii. 49; Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 10. 2; Ptolemais, κατὰ τὸ μέγα πεδίον ἐκτιαμένη; *Antiq.* v. 1. 22, viii. 2. 3, xv. 8. 5, xx. 6. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 3. 1, 4. 1; *Life*, 24, 26, 62; Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, i. 580 f. (art. "Jisreel"); Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, iii. 337; Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, pp. 335–357; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvi. 689 ff.—(2) But this same designation was also used for the Jordan Valley between the lake of Gennezaret and the Dead Sea, Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 8. 2: τὸ μέγα πεδίον καλεῖται, ἀπὸ κώμης Γιννααβρὶν δι᾽ ἧκον μέχρι τῆς Ἀσφαλτίτιδος λίμνης. Ginnabrin is without doubt the same place, which

The reign of Caligula, A.D. 37–41, was, after the rule of Tiberius, the enemy of the human race, joyfully greeted throughout the whole empire, and especially among the Jews. Since Vitellius was residing in Jerusalem when the news of the change of government reached him, the Jews were the first of the nationalities of Syria who professed to the new emperor the oath of allegiance, and presented sacrifices for him.[143] Also during the first eighteen months of his reign the Jews enjoyed peace and quiet.[144] But in the autumn of A.D. 38 a bloody persecution of the Jews broke out in Alexandria, which, though apparently at the instance of the Alexandrian mob, was yet indirectly the work of the

Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 9. 7, calls Sennabris, in the neighbourhood of Tiberias. See Tuch, *Quaestio de Flavii Josephi loco B. J.* iv. 8. 2, Lips. 1860, and Gust. Boettger, *Topogr.-hist. Lexicon zu den Schriften des Flavius Josephus*, 1879, pp. 136, 228. Josephus, *Antiq.* iv. 6. 1 : ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην κατὰ τὸ μέγα πεδίον Ἰεριχοῦντος ἀντικρύ. The Jordan Valley is also intended in 1 Macc. v. 52 (=Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 8. 5): εἰς τὸ πεδίον τὸ μέγα κατὰ πρόσωπον Βαιθσάν (where Keil, against Grimm, gives the correct explanation). The Plain of Jezreel was not reckoned down to Beth-sean or Scythopolis, but rather Mount Tabor lay, according to Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 1. 8, "between Scythopolis and the Great Plain."—A third plain, namely, that of Asochis, north of Sepphoris (see vol. i. p. 296), appears in Josephus, *Life*, 41 *fin.*, to be designated too as the "Great Plain." But this was really attached to the Plain of Jezreel, and ought to be reckoned along with it; for only upon this hypothesis is the very passage referred to, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 1. 8, intelligible.—In the case referred to in our text the plain beginning at Ptolemais is the one intended. Vitellius caused his army to march through it in a south-easterly direction, then presumably across the Jordan, continuing the march on the other side farther to the south.

[143] Philo, *De Legatione ad Cajum*, sec. 32 (*Opera*, ed. Mangey, ii. 580): Γαΐῳ παραλαβόντι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν πρῶτοι τῶν κατὰ Συρίαν ἁπάντων ἡμεῖς συνήσθημεν, Οὐιτελλίου τότε . . ἐν τῇ πόλει διατρίβοντος, ᾧ τὰ περὶ τούτων ἐκομίσθη γράμματα. . . . Πρῶτον τὸ ἡμέτερον ἱερὸν ἐδέξατο τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς Γαΐου θυσίας. Compare on the sacrifices also sec. 45, Mangey, ii. 598. On the oath: Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 3. See further on this point, vol. i. p. 445.

[144] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 7. 2 *fin.*: Γάιος δὲ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ τὸν ἑξῆς πάνυ μεγαλοφρόνως ἐχρῆτο τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ μέτριον παρέχων αὑτὸν εἰς εὔνοιαν προυχώρει παρά τε Ῥωμαίοις αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις.

emperor.[145] In his overweaning self-conceit, joined with a beclouded intellect, he took up the idea of his divine rank with terrible earnestness. With him the worship of the emperor was no mere form of homage which the emperors had taken over as a heritage of the Greek kings; but he actually believed in his divinity, and regarded the refusal to worship him as a proof of hostility to his person.[146] During the second year of his reign this idea seems to have obtained a complete mastery over him, and to have become known in the provinces. The provincials developed a corresponding zeal. The Jews, who could not follow this course, fell under suspicion of hostility to Caesar. This was to the Jew hating populace of Alexandria a welcome excuse for giving free expression to their hatred of the Jews; for they might well suppose that by persecuting the Jews they would earn the favour of the emperor. The governor of Egypt at that time, A. Avillius Flaccus, was weak enough for the sake of his own interests to agree to the plans of the enemies of the Jews. He had been governor of Egypt under Tiberius for five years, A.D. 32–37, and, according to the testimony of Philo, had during that time administered his office in a

[145] Compare on the persecutions of the Jews under Caligula: Tillemont, *Histoire des empereurs*, t. i. Venise 1732, pp. 434–462, 629–632; Lewin, *Fasti sacri*, London 1865, *ad ann.* 38–41; Delaunay, *Philon d'Alexandrie, écrits historiques, influence, luttes et persécutions des juifs dans le monde romain*, 2 ed. Paris 1870; Huidekoper, *Judaism at Rome*, New York 1876, pp. 199–222; Hausrath, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, Bd. ii. 2 Aufl. pp. 225–251; Grätz, "Präcisirung der Zeit für die, die Judäer betreffenden Vorgänge unter dem Kaiser Caligula" (*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1877, pp. 97 ff., 145 ff., reprinted in *Geschichte der Juden*, Bd. iii. 4 Aufl. pp. 759–769); Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 515–519.—For other literature, see Div. II. vol. iii. pp. 349–354.

[146] Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, secs. 11–15 (ed. Mangey, ii. 556–561); Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 7. 2 *fin.*, 8. 1, xix. 1. 1 ff.; Dio Cassius, lix. 26, 28; Suetonius, *Caligula*, 22; Hausrath, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, ii. 225 ff.

faultless manner.[147] Under Caligula he more and more lost that reputation. As an intimate friend of Tiberius, he stood, as a matter of course, in disfavour with Caligula. With the death of young Tiberius, grandson of the Emperor Tiberius, and of the praetorian prefect Macro, both of whom were compelled by Caligula to commit suicide, he completely lost every support at the court. Thenceforth he set no other end before him than this, namely, to endeavour by all means to secure the favour of the young emperor. This was the one principle that determined his proceedings toward the Jews.[148]

The presence of the Jewish king Agrippa in Alexandria gave the ostensible occasion for the outbreak of the persecution of the Jews. He arrived in Alexandria, on his homeward journey from Rome to Palestine, in August A.D. 38.

[147] Philo, *In Flaccum*, sec. 3 *init.*, ed. Mangey, ii. 518: Ἐξωστίαν γὰρ τὴν ἐπικράτειαν λαβὼν πέντε μὲν ἔτη τὰ πρῶτα, ζῶντος Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, τήν τε εἰρήνην διεφύλαξε καὶ οὕτως εὐτόνως καὶ ἐρρωμένως ἀφηγήσατο, ὡς τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ πάντας ὑπερβαλεῖν. Compare secs. 1–2, Mangey, ii. 517, 518.—The name of Flaccus is given in Philo, *In Flaccum*, sec. 1, as Φλάκκος Ἀουίλλιος. So, too, by Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 150 sq. According to Jerome, *Flaccus Avilius;* according to Syncellus, ed. Dindorf, i. 626: Φλάκκος Ἀβίλιος, corrupted in i. 615 into Φλάκκος Ἀσύλαιος. An inscription of the time of Tiberius at Tentyra in Egypt gives the full name (Letronne, *Recueil des inscriptions gr. et lat. de l'Égypte*, i. 87 sqq.= *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* n. 4716=Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, Bd. xii. Bl. 76, *Inscr. Gr.* n. 27): ἐπὶ Αὔλου Ἀουιλλίου Φλάκκου ἡγεμόνος. The reading is indeed doubtful in several places. The praenomen Αὔλου, however, seems from a facsimile by Lepsius to be quite certain. It was so given also by Letronne; but the *Corp. inscr. Graec.* reads Αυ[κίου].—Flaccus is also mentioned in *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* n. 4957, lin. 27.

[148] Philo, *In Flaccum*, secs. 3–4, *Opera*, ed. Mangey, ii. 518–520.—On the death of young Tiberius, see also Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, secs. 4–5, Mangey, ii. 549 sq.; Dio Cassius, lix. 8; Suetonius, *Caligula*, 23. On the death of Nävius Sertorius Macro (after the overthrow of Sejanus, A.D. 31, *praefactus praetorio*, see Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, v. 402); Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, secs. 6–8, Mangey, ii. 550–554; Dio Cassius, lix. 10; Suetonius, *Caligula*, 26.—The death of Tiberius, according to Dio Cassius, *l.c.*, occurred in A.D. 37; that of Macro in A.D. 38.

Although, as Philo has assured us, he avoided everything calculated to produce a commotion, the mere appearance of a Jewish king was an offence to the mob of Alexandria. Agrippa was first of all treated with indignity and insult in the gymnasium, and then exposed to ridicule in the performances of a pantomime. A man called Karabas, suffering from mental derangement, was decked in uniform similar to the king's dress, and was mockingly greeted as king, the people addressing him in the Syrian as *Μάρι*ν, Lord.[149] The mob, however, once roused to riot, was not disposed to be pacified. They now insisted upon placing statues of the emperor in the Jewish synagogues, called by Philo simply *προσευχαί*. Flaccus did not venture to oppose them, but rather agreed to all the demands of the enemies of the Jews. These again, the more the governor seemed disposed to yield to them, became the more extravagant in their demands. Flaccus gave permission successively to the setting up of images in the synagogues, to the pronouncing of the Jews, by an edict, no longer in the enjoyment of the rights of citizens, and, finally, he gave his sanction to a general persecution of the Jews.[150] Dreadful sufferings were now endured by the Jewish population of Alexandria. Their houses and warehouses were plundered; the Jews were themselves maltreated, murdered, the bodies mutilated; others publicly burned; others, again, dragged alive through the streets. The synagogues were, some of them destroyed, others profaned by the setting up of the image of Caligula as a god; in the largest synagogue the image of Caligula was set up on a high damaged *Quadriga*,

[149] Philo, *In Flaccum*, secs. 5–6, ed. Mangey, ii. 521 sq.

[150] Philo, *In Flaccum*, secs. 6–8, ed. Mangey, ii. 523–525.—Philo distinguishes in the career of Flaccus three stages: (1) Sec. 6 *fin.*: *ἐπιτρέπει ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀνάθησιν*. (2) Sec. 8 *init.*: *ὀλίγαις ὕστερον ἡμέραις τίθησι πρόγραμμα, δι' οὗ ξένους καὶ ἐπήλυδας ἡμᾶς ἀπεκάλει*; (3) *ibid.* *εἶτα δυσὶ τοῖς προτέροις καὶ τρίτον προσέθηκεν, ἐφεὶς ὡς ἐν ἀλώσει τοῖς ἐθέλουσι πορθεῖν Ἰουδαίους*.

which they had dragged thither from the gymnasium.[151] The governor Flaccus not only let all this go on without interfering, but also himself proceeded with severe measures against the Jews, for which, according to Philo, he had no other reason than the refusal of the Jews to take part in the worship of the emperor. He caused thirty-eight members of the Jewish *Gerousia* to be carried bound into the theatre, and there to be scourged before the eyes of their enemies, so that some of them died under the infliction of the lash, and others were thrown into long and severe illnesses.[152] A centurion was commanded to search with a select band through the houses of the Jews for arms. Jewish women were compelled before spectators in the theatre to partake of swine's flesh.[153] Flaccus had even before this shown his hostility to the Jews by failing to send to the emperor, as he had promised to do, but retaining in his own possession, a petition from the

151 Plundering of houses: Philo, *In Flaccum*, sec. 8, ed. Mangey, ii. 525; *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 18, ed. Mangey, ii. 563.—Massacre of the Jews: Philo, *In Flaccum*, sec. 9, ed. Mangey, ii. 526 sq.; *Legat. at Cajum*, sec. 19, ed. Mangey, ii. 564.—Destruction and profanation of the synagogues or proseuchae: *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 20, ed. Mangey. ii. 565.—The plundering, according to Philo, *In Flaccum*, sec. 11, ed. Mangey, ii. 531 *init.*, extended to four hundred houses.—In Div. II. vol. iii. p. 349, following Mangey's note, ii. 564, and Köstlin in *Theologische Jahrbb.* 1854, p. 398, I expressed myself to the effect that the persecution described in the *Legat. ad Cajum* is another than that described in the treatise *In Flaccum*. Subsequent examination of the facts, however, has convinced me that the two are identical, as I had previously, with many others, maintained in the first edition of this work. The details are so precisely the same that their identity cannot be doubted. Compare especially, *In Flaccum*, sec. 9; *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 19. Sometimes there is even a verbal agreement, as, *In Flaccum*, sec. 9, ed. Mangey, 527: φρύγανα συλλέγοντες καπνῷ τὸ πλέον ἢ πυρὶ διέφθειρον; and *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 19, ed. Mangey, ii. 564: οἱ δὲ ἡμίφλεκτοι καπνῷ τὸ πλέον ἢ πυρὶ διεφθείροντο τῆς φρυγανώδους ὕλης. It does not, however, give one the impression of literary dependence. The relationship is, from a literary point of view, very free, as it would naturally be if the same writer described at different times the same incidents.

152 Philo, *In Flaccum*, sec. 10, ed. Mangey, ii. 527–529.

153 Philo, *In Flaccum*, sec. 11, ed. Mangey, ii. 529–531.

Jewish community, in which an explanation was given of the attitude of the Jews in reference to the honours demanded by the emperor. This writing was first sent up by Agrippa, with a statement of the reason of the delay.[154]

We are not in possession of any detailed information as to the circumstances of the Alexandrian community after the severe persecution of the autumn of A.D. 38 down to the death of Caligula in January A.D. 41. In autumn of A.D. 38 Flaccus was suddenly, at the command of the emperor, carried as a prisoner to Rome, and banished to the island of Andros in the Aegean Sea, where subsequently he was, together with other distinguished exiles, put to death by the orders of Caligula.[155] Who his successor was is unknown.[156] It may be accepted as highly probable that the Jews did not get back their synagogues during Caligula's lifetime, and that the worship of the emperor continued a burning question, and one

[154] Philo, *In Flaccum*, sec. 12, ed. Mangey, ii. 531, 532.

[155] Philo, *In Flaccum*, secs. 12–21, ed. Mangey, ii. 532–544.—The chronological data for the incidents above recorded converge upon the autumn of A.D. 38. Compare Lewin, *Fasti sacri*, n. 1534–1538. Agrippa arrived at Alexandria favoured by the trade-winds (ἐτησίοι, *In Flaccum*, sec. 5, ed. Mangey, ii. 521), which blow from the 20th of July for the space of thirty days (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* ii. 47. 124, xviii. 28. 270). The scourging of the thirty-eight members of the Jewish Gerousia took place on Caligula's birthday (*In Flaccum*, sec. 10, ed. Mangey, ii. 529), *i.e.* on the 31st August (Suetonius, *Caligula*, 8). The departure of Flaccus, which occurred soon after this, took place during the Jewish Feast of Tabernacles (*In Flaccum*, sec. 14 *init.* ed. Mangey, ii. 534); therefore in September or October.—The year 38 is obtained from the two following facts: (1) Agrippa returned from Rome to Palestine in the second year of Caligula (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 11). (2) The Jewish warehouses were plundered when they had been closed on account of the mourning for Drusilla, the sister of Caligula (Philo, *In Flaccum*, sec. 8, ed. Mangey, ii. 525). But she died in A.D. 38 (Dio Cassius, lix. 10–11).

[156] According to Dio Cassius, lix. 10, Caligula had appointed Macro governor of Egypt. But he, while still Flaccus was governor of Egypt, was compelled to commit suicide (Philo, *In Flaccum*, secs. 3–4, ed. Mangey, ii. 519). He therefore never actually entered upon his governorship. Compare generally, on the governors of Egypt, *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* t. iii. p. 310 sq.

involving the Jews in danger. In A.D. 40, probably in spring, in consequence of the still continuing conflicts between the heathen and Jewish population of Alexandria, an embassy from both parties went to the emperor to complain against one another, and seek to win over the emperor to their side. The leader of the Jewish embassy was Philo; the leader of his opponents was the scholar Apion. The result was unfavourable to the Jews. They were ungraciously received by the emperor, and were obliged to return without having effected their object. So Josephus briefly tells the story.[157] A few incidents connected with this embassy are also told by Philo in his work about Caligula. But it is difficult to obtain any definite information from these fragmentary notices. Without having referred to the sending of one of the two embassies, Philo first of all states that the ambassadors of the Alexandrians won over completely to their interests the slave Helicon, a favourite of Caligula. When the Jews perceived this, they made similar endeavours on their part, but in vain.[158] They then concluded to pass on to the emperor a written statement, which contained the main points embraced in the petition shortly before sent in by King Agrippa. Caligula received the Jewish ambassadors first of all in the Campus Martius at Rome, and promised to hear them at a convenient time.[159] The ambassadors then followed the emperor to Puteoli, where, however, they were not received.[160] Only at a later period—we know not how much later—the

[157] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 1.—According to Josephus the two embassies consisted each of three men; according to Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 46, ed. Mangey, ii. 600, the Jewish embassy consisted of five men.

[158] Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, secs. 25–26, ed. Mangey, ii. 570 (Helicon); *ibid.* sec. 27, ed. Mangey, ii. 571 (the ambassadors of the Alexandrians); *ibid.* secs. 27–28, ed. Mangey, ii. 571 sq. (how the Jewish ambassadors vainly entreated Helicon to secure them an audience).

[159] Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 28, ed. Mangey, ii. 572 (the narrator here speaks evidently, in the first person, of himself).

[160] Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 29, ed. Mangey, ii. 573.

promised audience took place at Rome, in the gardens of Maecenas and Lamia, at which the emperor — while he inspected the works that were going on, and gave orders regarding them—caused the Jews to keep moving on always behind him, throwing out to them now and again a contemptuous remark, amid the applause of the ambassadors of the other party, until at last he dismissed them, declaring that they were to be regarded rather as foolish than as wicked men, since they would not believe in his divinity.[161]

[161] Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, secs. 44–46, ed. Mangey, ii. 597–600.—In the narrative of Philo, it is remarkable that he speaks about the complaints of the Alexandrian and Jewish ambassadors in Rome without having made any mention of the sending of the embassies. Possibly there is some gap in the text that has come down to us. So Massebieau, *Le classement des oeuvres de Philon* [*Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Section des Sciences religieuses*, vol. i. Paris 1889], p. 65 sqq. But this hypothesis seems to me quite unnecessary; for Philo does not by any means propose to tell the history of this embassy, as one might suppose from the false title, which was not given by Philo himself. His theme is rather the same as that of Lactantius in his treatise, *De Mortibus Persecutorum:* that the persecutors of the pious are punished by God. So correctly Massebieau. As with Flaccus, so also with Caligula—first of all his evil deeds are enumerated, and then the divine retribution; only this second half of the treatise about Caligula is no longer extant. The Jews are here, therefore, not the principal figures, but Caligula; and so the Jewish embassy from Alexandria to Rome is quite a subordinate matter. From this point of view, also, other difficulties are probably to be explained. Caligula was absent from Rome on an expedition to Gaul from the autumn of A.D. 39 till the 31st August A.D. 40 (see above, p. 36). Did the twice-repeated reception of the embassy take place before or after the expedition? According to Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 29, ed. Mangey, ii. 573 *fin.*, the ambassadors made the sea journey during the winter (χειμῶνος μέσου). Since the business on which they were engaged had become a matter of burning interest in consequence of the great persecution of autumn A.D. 38, we would naturally at first fix the date of the journey in the winter of A.D. 38–39. This view is favoured by the circumstance that the written apology which the ambassadors laid before the emperor is said to have been of similar contents with that "shortly before" (πρὸ ὀλίγου) sent by Agrippa, on the occasion of his visit to Alexandria (*Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 28, ed. Mangey, ii. 572), which undoubtedly refers to the same affair as has been narrated above on p. 95. For these reasons Lewin, *Fasti sacri*, n. 1539–1540; places the setting out of the embassy in the end

Affairs at Alexandria remained in suspense down to the death of Caligula. One of the first acts of the new emperor,

of A.D. 38, its first reception in the Campus Martius and going down to Puteoli in the beginning of A.D. 39, before the expedition to Gaul (*ibid.* n. 1551, 1557); but the second audience, in the gardens of Maecenas and Lamia, after the Gallic campaign, in the autumn of A.D. 40 (*ibid.* n. 1600). Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, i. 281, reaches, as it seems, the same result. But this arrangement is really impossible, because the ambassadors first received at Puteoli the news that Caligula had ordered his statue to be erected in the temple at Jerusalem (Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 29, ed. Mangey, ii. 573). This, as the following exposition will show, cannot have happened before the spring of A.D. 40. We are therefore obliged to set even the first reception, and the immediately following movement down to Puteoli, in the autumn of A.D. 40, after the Gallic campaign. That during this period, also, Caligula was once at Puteoli may be concluded from Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxii. 1, 4, where mention is made of Caligula's return "from Astura to Antium" not long before his death. The second audience, in the gardens of Maecenas and Lamia, at any rate took place after the expedition to Gaul; for the ambassadors there refer to the fact that the Jews had offered sacrifices for the emperor *κατὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς Γερμανικῆς νίκης* (*Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 45, ed. Mangey, ii. 598). If, therefore, the audiences of the Jews with Caligula are not to be assigned to an earlier date than autumn of A.D. 40, the question may be raised whether their winter journey should not be referred to the late autumn of A.D. 40? This is the opinion of Grätz, expressed in his treatise referred to above on p. 91. This date, however, would be too late, since it could not then be explained how the ambassadors first heard in Puteoli of events which had occurred in Palestine as early as the beginning of summer. It is therefore to be assumed that the ambassadors made their journey in the end of the winter of A.D. 39–40, waited in Rome for Caligula's return, and in autumn were received by him. So Tillemont, *Histoire des Empereurs*, t. i. p. 457; Delaunay, *Philon d'Alexandrie*, p. 180; also Noris, *Opera*, ii. 659 sq.; and Sanclemente, *De vulgaris aerae emendatione*, p. 313. Sanclemente opposes Noris' opinion, that the audience described by Philo, secs. 44–45, occurred before the going down to Puteoli referred to in sec. 29. But whether we accept this combination or that, in any case we fail to discover in Philo's exposition not only an account of the sending out of the Jewish-Alexandrian embassy, but also a full and comprehensive account of what befell it in Rome. Still more singular is it that Philo should have communicated nothing about the state of affairs in Alexandria itself from autumn A.D. 38 till Caligula's death, so that it is not explained why the embassy did not start till eighteen months after the great persecution. But all this may be satisfactorily explained if we accept what we said above as to the purpose of the writing.

Claudius, was to issue an edict by which all their earlier privileges were confirmed to the Alexandrian Jews, and the unrestricted liberty to practise their own religion was anew granted them.[162]

While the Alexandrian embassy to Rome waited for the imperial decision, a serious storm burst upon the mother country of Palestine. It had its origin in Jamnia, a town on the Philistine coast which was mainly inhabited by Jews. When the heathen inhabitants of that place, in order to show their zeal for Caesar and at the same time to aggravate the Jews, erected a rude altar to the emperor, this was immediately again destroyed by the Jews. The incident was reported by the imperial procurator of the city, Herennius Capito,[163] to the emperor, who, in order to avenge himself upon the refractory Jews, gave orders that his statue should be set up in the temple of Jerusalem.[164] As it was foreseen that such an attempt would call forth violent opposition, the governor of Syria, P. Petronius, received a command to have the one half of the army[165] stationed "on the Euphrates," *i.e.* in Syria, in readiness to proceed to Palestine, in order by their assistance to carry out the will of the emperor. This moderate and reasonable man obeyed the childish demand with a heavy heart during the winter of A.D. 39–40. While he was getting the statue prepared in Sidon, he gathered about him

162 Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 5. 2.

163 He was not as Philo names him: *φόρων ἐκλογεὺς τῶν τῆς Ἰουδαίας*, but only *ὁ τῆς Ἰαμνείας ἐπίτροπος* (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 3). Jamnia was merely a private estate of the emperor (*Antiq.* xviii. 2. 2). —Should not also in the text of Philo *Ἰαμνείας* be read instead of *Ἰουδαίας*?

164 Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 30, ed. Mangey, ii. 575 sq.

165 According to Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 2, two legions; according to *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 10. 1, three. The former statement is the correct one; for in Syria there were four legions (see above, p. 50). When therefore Philo, sec. 31, says "the half," this agrees with Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 2.

the heads of the Jewish people, and sought to persuade them to yield with a good grace; but all in vain.[166]

Soon the news of what was proposed spread over all Palestine, and now the people assembled in great crowds at Ptolemais, where Petronius had his headquarters. "Like a cloud the multitude of the Jews covered all Phoenicia." Well arranged, divided into six groups—old men, able-bodied men, boys, old women, wives and maidens, the mass deputation appeared before Petronius. Their mournful complaints and groans made such an impression upon Petronius that he resolved at all hazards to make the attempt to put off the decision for a time at least.[167] The full truth, that he really wished to have a stop put to the whole business, he dared not indeed write to the emperor. He wrote him rather that he entreated for delay, partly because time was required for the preparing of the statue, partly because the harvest was approaching, which it would be advisable to see gathered in, since otherwise the exasperated Jews might in the end destroy the whole harvest. When Caligula received that letter, he was greatly enraged at the dilatoriness of his governor. But he did not venture to give expression to his wrath, but wrote him a letter of acknowledgment in which he praised his prudence, and only advised him to proceed as quickly as possible with the preparation of the statue, since the harvest would be already about an end.[168]

[166] Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 31, ed. Mangey, ii. 576–579.—The date is determined by the fact that the negotiations following at Ptolemais took place during harvest, therefore between Passover and Pentecost and in the year 40, as the current report declares. But since, according to *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 2, Petronius had gone into his winter quarters at Ptolemais, he must have gone there in winter, A.D. 39–40. Josephus' words are certainly calculated to give one the impression that these events did not occur till the winter of A.D. 40–41. See vol. i. p. 365.

[167] Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 32 f., ed. Mangey, ii. 579–582; Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 10. 1–3.

[168] Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, secs. 33–34, ed. Mangey, ii. 582–584. This

Petronius, however, did not even yet proceed with any vigour in the matter, but entered anew into negotiations with the Jews. Yea, even late in autumn, down to the season of sowing in November, we find him at Tiberias besieged for forty days by crowds of people to be numbered by thousands, who besought him with tears that he would yet save the country from the threatened horror of temple desecration. When at length Aristobulus also, the brother of King Agrippa and other relatives of his joined their prayers to those of the people, Petronius resolved to take the decisive step of asking the emperor to revoke his order. He led his army back from Ptolemais to Antioch, and set before the emperor, in a letter which he sent for this purpose to Caligula, how upon grounds of equity and prudence it would be advisable to recall the offensive edict.[169]

Meanwhile affairs at Rome affecting matters in question had taken a more favourable turn. King Agrippa I., who in spring of the year 40 had left Palestine, met with Caligula in Rome or at Puteoli in autumn, when the emperor had just returned from his German campaign.[170] He had as yet heard

correspondence does not occur to be identical with that spoken of by Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 2; for the latter had taken place before the proceedings at Ptolemais.

[169] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 3–6; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 10. 3–5. The recall of the army is merely mentioned in *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 10. 5.

[170] That Agrippa had left Palestine as early as spring may be deduced from this, that he knew nothing of what had been going on in Palestine when he arrived in Rome. He cannot, however, have been in company with Caligula in Gaul, as Dio Cassius, lix. 24, conjectures, but must have gone first to Rome or Puteoli, some time after the return of Caligula from his campaign on 31st August A.D. 40. For had Agrippa's intervention that was crowned with success already occurred in Gaul, it would not have been only after Caligula's return, and after they had followed the emperor to Puteoli, that the Alexandrian ambassadors would have first heard the sad news about the affairs of Palestine, as was the case (Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 29, ed. Mangey, ii. 573). The intervention of Agrippa must therefore have taken place after that time. It therefore follows from this that Petronius, late in autumn, in the time of sowing,

nothing of what was going on in Palestine. But the glance of the emperor's eye assured him that he was nursing secret wrath in his heart. When he sought in vain for the cause of such feelings, the emperor observed his embarrassment, and let him know in a very ungracious tone what the cause of his displeasure was. The king on hearing this was so horror-stricken that he fell into a fainting fit, from which he did not recover till the evening of the following day.[171] On his recovery he made it his first business to address a supplication to the emperor, in which he endeavoured to persuade him to recall his order by showing that none of his predecessors had ever attempted anything of that sort.[172] Contrary to all expectation, the letter of Agrippa had the desired effect. Caligula caused a letter to be written to Petronius, commanding that nothing should be changed in the temple at Jerusalem. The favour was certainly not unmixed; for along with this order there was an injunction that no one who should erect a temple or altar to the emperor outside of Jerusalem should be hindered from doing so. A good part of the concession that had been made was thus again withdrawn; and it was only owing to the circumstance that no one took advantage of the right thus granted, that new disturbances did not arise out of it. The emperor, indeed, soon repented that he had made that concession. And so, as he made no further use of the statue that had been prepared at Sidon, he ordered a new one to be made in Rome which

and not long before Caligula's death, therefore somewhere about November, petitioned for the revoking of the order. He cannot therefore have then had in his hands Caligula's decision in reference to the matter; and this cannot in that case have been agreed upon in Rome earlier than some time in September or October.—That the intervention of Agrippa took place in A.D. 40 is made plain on general grounds from the contents of his supplication, in which he designates himself as already in possession of Galilee (Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 41, ed. Mangey, ii. 593).

171 Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 35, ed. Mangey, ii. 584–586.

172 Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, secs. 36–41, ed. Mangey, ii. 586–594.

he intended himself, in his journey to Alexandria which he had in prospect, to put ashore on the coast of Palestine as he passed, and have it secretly brought to Jerusalem.[173] Only the death of the emperor that soon followed prevented the carrying out of this enterprise.

For the person of Petronius as well as for the land of Judea the death of the emperor was a favourable occurrence. When, further, Caligula, after he himself had arranged for the stopping of proceedings, received the letter of Petronius expressing the wish referred to, he fell into a furious passion about the disobedience of this officer, and caused a command immediately to be issued, that as a punishment for that he should take away his own life. Soon thereafter, however, Caligula was murdered, 24th January A.D. 41; and Petronius received the news thereof twenty-seven days before the messengers arrived with the order for self-destruction; for these, in consequence of unfavourable weather, had been three full months upon their way. There was now just as little idea of carrying out the order for self-murder as there was of setting up the statue in the temple of Jerusalem.[174]

The new emperor, Claudius, who had been raised to the throne by the soldiers, immediately upon his accession gifted

[173] Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, secs. 42–43, ed. Mangey, ii. 594, 595. The projected journey to Alexandria is also mentioned in sec. 33, ed. Mangey, ii. 583, and in Suetonius, *Caligula*, c. 49.—A somewhat different account of Agrippa's intervention is given by Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 7–8. According to him, on a particular occasion when Agrippa had won the special good will of the emperor by means of a luxurious banquet, Caligula demanded of the Jewish king that he should ask of him any favour that he desired, whereupon he besought the emperor for the revocation of the order to set up his statue in the temple of Jerusalem. The result, according to Josephus, was the same, namely, that the prayer was granted.

[174] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 8–9; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 10. 5.—Compare also, generally, the Jewish tradition in Derenbourg, p. 207 sq.

The order of succession in time of the different incidents recorded may be set forth in something like the following arrangement. It must be

to Agrippa, besides the dominion which he already had possession under Caligula, Judea and Samaria, so that now

here presupposed that the transmission of news from Rome or Gaul to Jerusalem, and *vice versâ*, would ordinarily take about two months :—

Winter, A.D. 39–40 :	Petronius receives orders from Caligula to set up his statue in the temple at Jerusalem, and goes with two legions into Palestine.
April or May A.D. 40 :	When harvest was at hand, the negotiations were opened at Ptolemais. First report of Petronius to Caligula (Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, secs. 32–33 ; Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 2 ; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 10. 1–3).
June :	Caligula receives Petronius' first report, and answers him, urging him to make haste (Philo, sec. 34).
August :	Petronius receives Caligula's answer, but still puts off the final decision.
End of September :	Agrippa pays a visit to Caligula at Rome or Puteoli ; learns of what had happened, and intervenes. Caligula sends to Petronius the order to put a stop to the undertaking (Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, secs. 35–42 ; Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 7–8).
Beginning of November:	Negotiations at Tiberias in time of sowing ; Petronius prays the emperor to desist from setting up the statue (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 3–6 ; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 10. 3–5).
End of November :	Petronius receives the order to put a stop to the undertaking.
Beginning of January A.D. 41 :	Caligula receives the petition of Petronius to desist from setting up the statue, and sends him the order to take away his own life (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 8).
24th January A.D. 41 :	Caligula is murdered.
Beginning of March :	Petronius receives the news of Caligula's death.
Beginning of April :	Petronius receives the letter with the order for self-destruction (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 9 ; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 10. 5).

This table may still be regarded as essentially correct, even if in some cases the time taken for a letter to travel from Italy or Gaul to Palestine, and *vice versâ*, might be somewhat shorter. On the average the time may be put down at between one or two months. It deserves, however, to be taken into consideration that Caligula was in summer still in Gaul, and that in winter news travelled slowly and irregularly. The most difficult point in our chronology is this, that Agrippa as well as the Alexandrian Jewish embassy did not hear of Caligula's order with reference to the

again all Palestine, to the same extent which it formerly had under Herod the Great, was united in the hand of a Herodian.[175]

Excursus I.—The Valuation Census of Quirinius, Luke ii. 1–5.

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temple of Jerusalem earlier than sometime in September (see above, pp. 98 and 101); whereas, according to Philo, the affair was already matter of common talk in Palestine in harvest time, as early as April or May. Tillemont had for this reason given up the later statement of Philo as unhistorical (*Histoire des empereurs*, t. i. Venise 1732, p. 630 sq., *Notes sur la ruine des juifs*, note ix.); so also in recent times, Grätz *Monatsschrift*, 1877, p. 97 ff., 145 ff. = *Geschichte der Juden*, Bd. iii. 4 Aufl. p. 759 ff. But the statements of Philo are on this point so definite and detailed (*Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 33, ed. Mangey, ii. 583: ἐν ἀκμῇ μὲν γὰρ τὸν τοῦ σίτου καρπὸν εἶναι, etc., compare also sec. 34 *fin.*, ed. Mangey, ii. 584) that it seems very risky to have recourse to such violent measures.

[175] Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 5. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 11. 5.

[1] The most complete monographs are those marked with an asterisk.—The earlier literature is given by Hase, *Leben Jesu*, § 23 *b*; Huschke, 1840, p. 8; Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, ii.. 292–294; Meyer on Luke ii. 2; Gumpach, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1852, p. 663 f. The more recent especially in Lecoultre, *De censu Quiriniano* (1883), p. 7 sq., and Sieffert in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 2 Aufl. xiii. 455.

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EWALD, *History of Israel*, vi. pp. 155–157.

KEIM, *Jesus of Nazara*, ii. 116–123.

EBRARD, *Gospel History*.

*WIESELER, *Beiträge zur richtigen Würdigung der Evangelien*, 1869, pp. 16–107. By same author, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1875, pp. 535–549.

FARRAR, *Life of Christ*, vol. i. p. 7, note; vol. ii. p. 450.

CASPARI, *Chronological and Geographical Introduction to the Life of Christ*, pp. 34–38.

*ZUMPT, *Das Geburtsjahr Christi*, 1869, pp. 20–224.

WOOLSEY, "Historical Credibility of Luke ii. 1–5" (*New Englander*, 1869, pp. 674–723. This paper has not been accessible to me). By the same author: Review of Zumpt's *Geburtsjahr Christi* in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1870, pp. 290–336. Very carefully done.

STEINMEYER, "Die Geschichte der Geburt des Herrn und seiner ersten Schritte im Leben" (*Apologetische Beiträge*, iv.), Berlin 1873, pp. 29–41.

SEVIN, *Chronologie des Lebens Jesu* (1874), pp. 20–39.

SCHENKEL'S *Bibellexikon*, Bd. v. pp. 23–27, art. "Quirinius" by Weizsäcker, and pp. 398–405, art. "Steuern" by Kneucker).

HEHLE, *Theolog. Quartalschrift*, 1875, pp. 666–684; 1876, pp. 85–101 (review of Zumpt's *Geburtsjahr Christi*).

MARQUARDT, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Bd. ii. 1876, pp. 198–216 (2 Aufl. revised by Dessau und Domaszewski 1884, pp. 204–223).

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PÖLZL, art. "Census" in Wetzer and Welte's *Kirchenlexikon*, 2 Aufl. Bd. iii. 1884, pp. 1–7.

SIEFFERT, art. "Schatzung" in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 2 Aufl. xiii. 1884, pp. 446–455.

MOMMSEN, *Res gestae divi Augusti*, ed. 2, 1883, pp. 175–177.—By the same author, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, ii. 1 (1874), pp. 391–394.

UNGER, "De censibus provinciarum Romanarum" (*Leipziger Studien zur class. Philologie*, Bd. x. 1887, pp. 1–76). Mainly a collection of inscriptions in which tax-collectors are mentioned.

It has been mentioned above, at p. 79, that after the banishment of Archelaus the imperial legate, Quirinius, arrived in Judea, and there, in A.D. 6 or 7, proceeded to make a census, *i.e.* a list of the inhabitants, and a reckoning of their landed property, for the purpose of apportioning the taxation. The evangelist Luke, ii. 1–5, makes mention of a valuation census such as that made by Quirinius; but he places it in the last days of Herod the Great, that is, somewhere about ten or twelve years earlier than that census was really made. It is a matter of debate how this story is related to the similar one recorded by Josephus; whether there were actually two different valuations in Judea conducted by Quirinius, or whether Luke has erroneously set down the valuation that was made in A.D. 7 in the last years of Herod the Great. In order that we may be in a position to form a deliberate judgment on this much-debated question, and generally on the credibility of the narrative of Luke, it is necessary first

of all to understand, at least in its most general outlines, the Roman system of taxation during the days of the empire.

The original Roman census, as it was drawn up during the period of the republic,[2] was strictly confined to the enrolment of Roman citizens. It consisted of a list of Roman citizens and their possessions, made for a double purpose: (1) The regulating of military service, and (2) the levying of the direct taxes. The party whose property had to be valued was obliged to present himself before the censor and give in a statement of his possessions; but it was the custom that the father of the family should pay taxes for himself and for the whole family. In the time of the republic there was no one regular valuation census of the subjects of the Roman nation. Valuations were indeed made here and there; but these had no intimate connection or coherence with one another nor with the census of the Roman citizens.[3]

In the days of the empire, as even before in the days of the republic, the census of Roman citizens had completely lost its original significance; for the Roman citizens, *i.e.* therefore all Italy and the colonies with Italian privileges, were no longer sufficient for military service, and also no longer paid direct taxes.[4] When therefore Augustus, Claudius, and Vespasian still made valuation rolls of Roman citizens,

[2] Compare on the census of citizens in the time of the republic, Rein, art. "Census" in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, ii. 247–257; Zumpt, *Das Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 97–116; De Boor, *Fasti censorii*, Berol. 1873; Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, ii. 1 (1874), pp. 304–442; E. Herzog, *Geschichte und System der römischen Staatsverfassung*, Bd. i. 1884, pp. 754–797.

[3] Compare on the provincial census of the times of the republic, Zumpt, *Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 114–116; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 175–197 (2 Aufl. revised by Dessau und Domaszewski, pp. 180–204).

[4] Compare on the citizen census of the days of the empire: Zumpt, *Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 116–129; De Boor, *Fasti censorii*, pp. 30–33, 96–100; Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, 1 Aufl. ii. 1, pp. 310–312, 391 ff.; ii. 2, p. 1012 f.—The last citizen census which was fully carried out, was that of Vespasian in A.D. 74.

this was done only for statistical purposes, or on account of the religious festivities associated therewith, but not for taxation purposes. Fundamentally different was the census of the provinces, the main purpose of which was to regulate the levying of the taxes.[5] Even in this direction there existed in the earlier days of the empire a very great diversity;[6] but in general even then those principles had become pretty well established which in later juristic documents (*Digest.* L. 15: *De censibus*) are assumed as everywhere prevailing. From these we learn that there were for the provinces two kinds of direct taxes: (1) The property-tax on possessions in land, *tributum soli* or *agri*, and (2) The poll-tax, *tributum capitis*.[7] The former was paid partly in kind, partly in money.[8] Under the latter, the *tributum capitis*, there seems to have been summed up various sorts of personal taxes, such as the income-tax, which varied according to the amount of the

[5] Compare, on the provincial census during the days of the empire, the works and treatises referred to above by Huschke (1847), Rodbertus, Zumpt (pp. 147–175), Marquardt, Unger; and, in addition: Rein, art. "Tributum" in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, vi. 2, pp. 2125–2129; Zachariä von Lingenthal, "Zur Kenntniss des römischen Steuerwesens in der Kaiserzeit" (*Mémoires de l'académie impériale des sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, 7 série, t. vi. No. 9, Petersb. 1863); Bernh. Matthiass, *Die römische Grundsteuer und das Vectigalrecht*, Erlangen 1882. The two last deal especially with the later period of the empire.

[6] Zumpt, *Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 156, 176, 187, 211 f. Compare also: Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 185–196.

[7] That there were only these two kinds of direct taxes is plain from *Digest.* L. 15. 8. § 7 (from Paul in beginning of third century): "Divus Vespasianus Caesarienses colonos fecit, non adjecto, ut et juris Italici essent; sed tributum his remisit capitis; sed Divus Titus etiam solum immune factum interpretatus est."—Compare Appian. *Libyca*, 135: τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς φόρον ὥρισαν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν; Dio Cass. lxii. 3; Tertullian, *Apologet.* 13: "agri tributo onusti viliores, hominum capita stipendio censa ignobiliora." Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, vi. 2. 2126.

[8] According to Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 16. 4, "the third part of the world," that is, North Africa, with the exception of Egypt, yielded yearly so much grain, that from it the needs of the city of Rome could be supplied for eight months; and from the city of Alexandria four months,

income, and the poll-tax proper, which was of equal amount for every *caput*.[9] In Syria, *e.g.*, there was raised in Appian's time a personal tax, which amounted to one per cent. of the valuation.[10] This was therefore properly an income-tax. When, on the other hand, Josephus reckons from the poll-tax that Egypt, with the exclusion of Alexandria, had a population of seven and a half millions, he is evidently referring to a tax of the same amount for every *caput*.[11] At any rate, during the earlier days of the empire, the taxes levied were of the most diverse kinds.[12] Women and slaves had also to pay the poll-tax. Only children and old men were exempted. In Syria, *e.g.*, men from the age of fourteen and women from the age of twelve years, and both up to the age of sixty-five years,

[9] Huschke, *Census der Kaiserzeit*, p. 175 ff.; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 185–196.

[10] Appian. *Syr.* 50: Πομπήιος — *τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ἁγιωτάτην αὐτοῖς κατέσκαψεν, ἣν δὴ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ πρῶτος Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς καθῃρήκει, καὶ Οὐεσπασιανὸς αὖθις οἰκισθεῖσαν κατέσκαψε, καὶ Ἁδριανὸς αὖθις ἐπ' ἐμοῦ. Καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν Ἰουδαίοις ἅπασιν ὁ φόρος τῶν σωμάτων βαρύτερος τῆς ἄλλης περιοικίας. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Σύροις καὶ Κίλιξιν ἐτήσιος, ἑκατοστὴ τοῦ τιμήματος ἑκάστῳ.*—Instead of *περιοικίας* (a conjecture of Musgrave adopted by Bekker) the codd. have *περ.ουσίας*, which is meaningless, although it is still defended by Huschke, *Census der Kaiserzeit*, p. 135. The correctness of the conjecture is proved by the context. Appian means to say: On account of the battles under Vespasian and Hadrian, the Jews had to pay a higher poll-tax than the other neighbouring peoples, namely, than the Syrians and Cilicians, who pay an annual poll-tax in the form of a percentage of the sum of the valuation. From Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 6. 6, Dio Cassius, lxvi. 7, however, we know that the increase consisted in this, that the *δίδραχμον*, which had before been paid as a temple-tax (Matt. xvii. 24), after the destruction of the temple had to be paid to the Romans.

[11] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 16. 4: *Αἴγυπτος — πεντήκοντα πρὸς ταῖς ἑπτακοσίαις ἔχουσα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων δίχα τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν κατοικούντων, ὡς ἔνεστιν ἐκ τῆς καθ' ἑκάστην κεφαλὴν εἰσφορᾶς τεκμήρασθαι.*

[12] Of Northern Africa, Josephus says (*Wars of the Jews*, ii. 16. 14): *χωρὶς τῶν ἐτησίων καρπῶν, ἃ μησὶν ὀκτὼ τὸ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην πλῆθος τρέφουσι, καὶ ἔξωθεν παντοίως φορολογοῦνται, καὶ ταῖς χρείαις τῆς ἡγεμονίας παρέχουσιν ἑτοίμως τὰς εἰσφοράς.*

were obliged to pay the poll-tax.[13] As to the valuation census of the provinces, *i.e.* the preparation of lists for the sake of the apportioning of the taxes, the same principles regulated procedure as in the drawing up of the census of Roman citizens.[14] In regard to the one as well as the other, the expressions were used: *edere, deferre censum, profiteri;* from which it is evident that the party liable had to give in the valuation himself, and his taxes were only controlled by the officers.[15] The taxes had to be paid in the chief towns of the particular taxation districts;[16] and, indeed, the landed estates had to be registered for taxation in those communes in whose domain they lay.[17] At what intervals the valuation was repeated is not with any certainty known. Huschke assumes a ten years' period for the census, similar to the five years' period of the earlier census of Roman citizens.[18] Zumpt contests the correctness of this assumption, and believes that by standing taxation boards the list was kept carefully revised.[19] Many hints favour the idea of a five years' census period. Since the fourth century after Christ it is well known that the fifteen year indiction period became prevalent.[20]

So much on the question of valuations and taxation in

[13] *Digest.* L. 15. 3 pr. (from Ulpian, beginning of the third century): "Aetatem in censendo significare necesse est, quia quibusdam aetas tribuit, ne tributo onerentur; veluti in Syriis a quatuordecim annis masculi, a duodecim feminae usque ad sexagesimum quintum annum tributo capitis obligantur; aetas autem spectatur censendi tempore."

[14] Compare generally: Huschke, *Census der Kaiserzeit*, p. 192 ff.; Zumpt, *Das Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 170–175.

[15] Huschke, *Census*, p. 193; Zumpt, *Geburtsjahr*, p. 173.

[16] Zumpt, *Das Geburtsjahr Christi*, p. 174.

[17] *Digest.* L. 15. 4. § 2 (from Ulpian, beginning of the third century): "Is vero, qui agrum in alia civitate habet, in ea civitate profiteri debet, in qua ager est; agri enim tributum in eam civitatem debet levare, in cujus territorio possidetur."

[18] Huschke, *Census der Kaiserzeit*, p. 57 ff.

[19] Zumpt, *Das Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 168–170, 189, 205, 206; compare Hock, *Römische Geschichte*, i. 2. 406.

[20] Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 236–238 (2 Aufl. pp. 243–245).

general. Now, Luke says in the passage referred to, chap. ii. 1–5,[21] that about the time of the birth of Christ, therefore certainly while Herod the Great still reigned (Luke i. 5; Matt. ii. 1–22), a decree (δόγμα) went out from the Emperor Augustus requiring that "all the world should be taxed," ἀπογράφεσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην. By "all the world," in accordance with the well-known use of the phrase among the Romans, we can understand nothing else than the whole Roman empire, the *orbis Romanus*. Strictly taken, the phrase would include Italy as well as the provinces. Yet it would be a pardonable inexactness in the use of the expression, even were it found to have been employed actually to designate only a general census of the provinces.[22] Absolutely impossible is the limitation of the phrase to Palestine sometimes favoured by earlier expositors.[23] The verb ἀπογράφειν means first of all only "to register," and is therefore more general than the definite ἀποτιμᾶν, "to value."[24] But there is no other purpose of registration that naturally suggests itself than that of forming a basis for taxation (for the Jews were exempted from military service); and certainly Luke has so understood the word, since in ver. 2 he brings this registration ("taxing") into connection with the well-known census of Quirinius, whether to identify with that taxing or to distinguish it from it. He proceeds in ver. 2 to say: αὕτη [ἡ] ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου. Whether the article is to be inserted before ἀπογραφή or not, it is difficult to say, since important authorities may be cited in favour of both readings.[25] At any rate the order πρώτη ἐγένετο is to be

[21] Compare in explanation, besides the commentaries: Wieseler, *Beiträge*, pp. 18–32; Zumpt, *Geburtsjahr*, pp. 90–96, 188 ff.; Lecoultre, *De censu Quiriniano*, pp. 11–27.

[22] So Wieseler, *Beiträge*, pp. 20–22.

[23] So Paulus, Hug, and others.

[24] Compare Wieseler, *Beiträge*, p. 19 f.; Zumpt, *Geburtsjahr*, pp. 84–86

[25] The majority of MSS. has the article: it is wanting in BD, also in ℵ,

maintained over against the isolated readings ἐγένετο πρώτη (ℵ) and ἐγένετο ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη (D). For the sense it is almost indifferent whether one insert the article or not; for in the former case it would be translated: "This taxing took place as the first;" and in the other case: "This took place as the first taxing,"[26] while Quirinius was governor of Syria. But it may now be asked, in what sense Luke uses the term "first." Does he mean to say that it was the first general imperial valuation,[27] or the first Roman valuation in Judea,[28] or that it was the first among several made by Quirinius?[29] The first of these explanations would make Luke assume a number of general imperial valuations. But if, as will appear, even the one imperial valuation census under Augustus is problematical, a frequent repetition of such a census would be yet more problematical. We shall therefore do well in not unnecessarily attributing this serious error to the evangelist. The first tenable explanation then is that mentioned above in the second place. We shall then have to stand by it, if it can be proved that Quirinius only made one valuation census for Judea, and that also Luke intended to refer to that one. Provisionally, therefore, we may assume this as the sense of the words, that the general imperial valuation census ordered by Augustus for Judea was the first which had been made there by the Romans, and that it took place while Quirinius was governor of Syria. In this case the only point that we must still, according to p. 111, leave undecided is, whether the valuation census was subsequently repeated at regular

which reads αυτην απογραφην; the article is rejected by Lachmann, Tregelles, Tischendorf, ed. 8, Weiseler, Weiss, Westcott and Hort.

[26] Buttmann, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachgebrauchs*, p. 105.

[27] So Huschke, *Ueber den zur Zeit der Geburt Jesu Christi gehaltenen Census*, p. 89; Köhler in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 1 Aufl. xiii. 466.

[28] So Wieseler, *Beiträge*, pp. 24, 27; Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift*, 1870, p. 157; Höck, *Römische Geschichte*, i. 2. 417.

[29] So Meyer-Weiss on Luke ii. 2; and Zumpt, *Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 188–190.

intervals of time, or was kept up to date by constant revision of the lists.—In what follows, in vv. 3–5, Luke further states that in obedience to that decree, all (in the land of Judea) went to be taxed, every one εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν,[30] *i.e.* every one who was away from the native place of his family (his οἶκος), had now to go to that place in order to be taxed there. And so also Joseph went from Galilee to Bethlehem, because he was of the house of David, to be taxed with Mary his espoused wife (σὺν Μαριάμ is to be joined with ἀπογράψασθαι, not with ἀνέβη, which is much further removed from it).

This account by Luke, however, now calls forth the following considerations:—

1. Of a general imperial census in the time of Augustus, history otherwise knows nothing.

Apologetical: Huschke, *Census zur Zeit des Geburt Jesu Christi*, pp. 2–59; Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis of the Four Gospels*, pp. 66–82; Rodbertus, *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, v. 145 ff., 241 ff.; Zumpt, *Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 147–160; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 204 ff. (2 Aufl. p. 211 ff.); Lecoultre, *De censu Quiriniano*, pp. 28–41.

Huschke especially has endeavoured by a series of facts to establish the position that such an imperial census actually did take place, but the want of demonstrative force in this attempt is now to some extent, at least, admitted even by the most decided upholders of the narrative of Luke. Thus Huschke refers (p. 11 ff.), and also even Wieseler,[31] to the *rationarium* or *breviarium totius imperii*, a list of the sources of help or supply for the whole empire, which Augustus, as a good financier, drew up, so that he might be able to bring into order again the seriously disturbed financial arrangements

[30] So it is to be read, according to ℵ[c]*BDL*Ξ (with Tischendorf, ed. 8, Weiss, Westcott and Hort), instead of *Rec.* εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν πόλιν.

[31] *Chronological Synopsis*, p. 73 f.; *Beiträge*, pp. 52, 93.

of the empire (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 28, 101; Dio Cassius, liii. 30, lvi. 33; Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 11).[32] But Zumpt rightly remarks[33] that this, indeed, speaks for the orderly condition of the State administration, but does not prove an imperial census.[34]—Still more unfortunate is Huschke's reference (pp. 37–45) to Dio Cassius, liv. 35 and lv. 13; for in the former passage it is simply said that Augustus as a private man had undertaken a census of all his property (*πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντά οἱ*); and in the other, the reference is only to a census of Roman citizens.[35]—Finally, the attempt of Huschke (pp. 45–53) to call the *Monumentum Ancyranum* (on which compare what is said in vol. i. p. 115) as a witness on behalf of the general imperial census completely breaks down; and for proof of this, it is enough to refer to Wieseler[36] and Marquardt.[37]

Of the numerous witnesses whom Huschke had called to prove the fact of the general imperial census, there remain, therefore, only Cassiodorus, Isidorus Hispalensis, and Suidas.[38]

[32] Tacitus in that passage describes its contents as follows: "Opes publicae continebantur, quantum civium sociorumque in armis, quot classes, regna, provinciae, tributa aut vectigalia, et necessitates ac largitiones. Quae cuncta sua manu perscripserat Augustus addideratque consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii, incertum metu an per invidiam."

[33] *Geburtsjahr Christi*, p. 154.

[34] The attempt has, indeed, been made to deduce from the statement of Tacitus a declaration that Augustus had made valuation censuses even in the domains of *reges socii*. But it will be seen that it is not once said there that the *regna* paid tribute, let alone that censuses were held in their territories.

[35] Compare Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis*, pp. 75–79; *Beiträge*, p. 57; Zumpt, *Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 126, 155. The passage in Dio Cassius, liv. 35, is referred also by Rodbertus to a census of the provinces, although with a meaning somewhat different from that of Huschke.

[36] *Chronological Synopsis*, pp. 79–82; *Beiträge*, pp. 58–64.

[37] *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 205.

[38] Compare Huschke, *Census*, p. 3 ff.; Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis*, p. 68 f.; *Beiträge*, pp. 53–56; Rodbertus, *Jahrbucher für Nationalökonomie*, v. 241 ff.; Zumpt, *Geburtsjahr*, pp. 149–155; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 205 f.

They all do, undoubtedly, speak of a general imperial census in the time of Augustus.[39] But their testimony loses very much of its value from the fact that they were all three Christians, and lived in a very late period, namely, in the sixth, seventh, and tenth centuries after Christ, which is calculated to produce an exceedingly strong suspicion that they simply drew their information from Luke. The confused rigmarole of the Spanish Isidore is not regarded even by Wieseler[40] and Zumpt[41] as an independent witness. As to Suidas, his dependence upon Luke is quite apparent. Finally, Cassiodorus has certainly used older sources, namely, the writings of the land measurers. But who can give us any guarantee that he did not derive his statement about the census from Luke? At any rate, it is hazardous, considering the silence of all older sources (the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, Dio Cassius, Suetonius), to accept as historical the isolated

[39] The passages referred to run as follows:—

Cassiodorus, *Variarum*, iii. 52: "Augusti siquidem temporibus orbis Romanus agris divisus censuque descriptus est, ut possessio sua nulli haberetur incerta, quam pro tributorum susceperat quantitate solvenda. Hoc auctor Hyrummetricus [some editors read: gromaticus] redegit ad dogma conscriptum, quatenus studiosus legendo possit agnoscere, quod deberet oculis absolute monstrare."

Isidorus, *Etymologiarum*, v. 36. 4 (*Opera*, ed. Arevalo, iii. 229 sq.): "Era singulorum annorum constituta est a Caesare Augusto: quando primum censum exegit, ac Romanum orbem descripsit. Dictum autem era ex eo, quod omnis orbie aes reddeie professus est reipublicae."—On the Spanish era of B.C. 38, the origin of which Isidore here seeks to explain, see Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, ii. 422 ff.; Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, i. 1, 2 Aufl. p. 420 f. (art. "Aera"); Heller in Sybel's *Hist. Zeitschrift*, Bd. xxxi. 1874, pp. 13–32.

Suidas, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* *ἀπογραφή*: *Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ Αὔγουστος ὁ μοναρχήσας εἰκοσιν ἄνδρας τοὺς ἀρίστους τὸν βίον καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐξέπεμψε, δι' ὧν ἀπογραφὰς ἐποιήσατο τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ οὐσιῶν, αὐτάρκη τινὰ προστάξας τῷ δημοσίῳ μοῖραν ἐκ τούτων εἰσφέρεσθαι. Αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τοῖς κεκτημένοις τί μὴ ἀφαιρουμένων, ὡς εἶναι τοῖς εὐπόροις δημόσιον ἔγκλημα τὸν πλοῦτον.*

[40] *Chronological Synopsis*, p. 69, note 1.

[41] *Geburtsjahr Christi*, p. 151.

statement of Cassiodorus.[42]—The "testimony" of Orosius, on which Riess again lays great stress, though it had long been given up by most, rests, undoubtedly, only upon the narrative of Luke.[42a]

Many think that they have found an indirect support for the idea of an imperial census in the times of Augustus in the so-called imperial survey of Augustus. But even this very problematical.[43] We know, indeed, that Agrippa, friend of Augustus, collected material for a map of the ld, and that this map of the world after his death was set n marble in a corridor. These *commentarii* of Agrippa specially valuable on account of their numerous and measurements.[44] But it is very doubtful whether the

msen also is of opinion that Cassiodorus has derived his state- ut the census from Luke. See his treatise on "Die libri m" in *Die Schriften der römischen Feldmesser*, edited by Blume, nn, and Rudorff, Bd. ii. (1852) p. 177.

rosius, vi. 22. 6: "Eodem quoque anno [752 a. U.] tunc primum aesar . . . censum agi singularum ubique provinciarum et censeri homines jussit, quando et Deus homo videri et esse dignatus est. n igitur natus est Christus, Romano censui statim adscriptus ut natus ."—Compare Riess, *Das Geburtsjahr Christi* (1880), p. 69 ff.

[43] The materials relating to this question are well summed up in a brief rm in Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Bd. ii. pp. 200–204 (2 Aufl. vised by Dessau und Domaszewski, 1884, pp. 207–211). In that work p. 200 (in the 2nd ed. p. 207) the special literature is also given, to which we may now further add: F. Philippi, *Zur Reconstruction der Weltkarte des Agrippa*, 1880; Schweder, *Beiträge zur Kritik der Chorographie des Augustus*, 3 Thle. 1876–1883; Detlefsen, *Untersuchungen zu den geographischen Büchern des Plinius*, 1. *Die Weltkarte des M. Agrippa*, Glückstadt 1884. Compare also: Hübner, *Grundriss zu Vorlesungen über die röm. Literaturgeschichte*, 4 Aufl. 1878, p. 180 (a list of the literature); Teuffel, *History of Roman Literature*, § 220. 12–13.

[44] The extant statements regarding these (especially those in Pliny) have been collected by Riese, *Geographi Latini minores* (1878), pp. 1–8. Compare also his *Prolegom.* pp. vii.–xvii.—The principal witness is Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iii. 2. 17: "Agrippam quidem in tanta viri diligentia praeterque in hoc opere cura, cum orbem terrarum orbi spectandum propositurus esset, errasse quis credat? et cum eo divum Augustum? Is namque complexam eum porticum ex destinatione et commentariis M. Agrippae a sorore ejus inchoatam peregit."—The statements in Pliny are evidently

measurements of Agrippa rest upon a general survey of the empire undertaken by Augustus. That such a survey was begun as early as the times of Caesar, and was completed under Augustus, is, indeed, affirmed by some late cosmographers, like Julius Honorius and Aethicus Ister. But it is questionable whether this statement is derived from ancient sources.[45] And even if Augustus had undertaken a gener imperial survey, this, evidently, had nothing to do with t census. It could only properly have to do, as all geographi statistical materials of the following period show, with graphical investigations, and, above all, with the measuri roads, with a statement of distances from place to place.

But even although this much is established that, from Luke, there is no historical evidence of a imperial census by Augustus, it may still certainly be as a possibility that Luke alone has handed down information about that fact. But even this possibilit would require to be stated with very important limit For this reason chiefly we cannot entertain the idea imperial census, but at most only a census of the provinc because in any case Italy would have to be excluded (compa p. 108). But even with respect to the provinces, there w this great difference among them, that some were administer by Augustus through his legates, others by the Senate. It is scarcely conceivable that the shrewd Augustus, careful t avoid all encroachments on the rights of the Senate, shoul have ordered by one and the same edict a census of the sam

not taken from the map, but from Agrippa's *commentarii*. See Riese, p. ix Yet Detlefsen still seeks to prove that they are from the map.

[45] The texts of Julius Honorius and Aethicus Ister are given in Riese *Geographi Latini minores* (1878), pp. 21–55, and 71–103. The statemen about the imperial survey is made by both at the very beginning.—Julius Honorius is older than Cassiodorus. But it is worthy of remark that in the *Cod. Parisin.* 4808, saec. vi., which contains the oldest recension of hi work (in Riese distinguished as A), the statement about the imperial survey is wanting.

sort for his provinces and for those of the Senate.[46] Besides this, it is to be noted that we know definitely of some pro-

[46] In general it may be assumed that the emperors from the first claimed the right of arranging for valuation censuses even in senatorial provinces. Dio Cassius, liii. 17, reckons as a matter of course among the privileges of the emperors that they ἀπογραφὰς ποιοῦνται. They must indeed have reserved this right to themselves, because even the senatorial provinces were required to contribute certain dues to the imperial *fiscus*, and so even in senatorial provinces there were imperial procurators (Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. 2 Aufl. 1881, p. 555 f.). But, in spite of the paucity of materials, it has been regarded by Mommsen and Hirschfeld worthy of remark that imperial financial officers have not hitherto been met with in the senatorial provinces throughout the first century of the imperial era. Among the instances brought together by Marquardt, ii. 2 Aufl. 1884, p. 216, and Unger (*Leipziger Studien zur class. Philol.* x. 1887, p. 1 ff.), we find two *legati ad census accipiendos* in the senatorial provinces, one in Gallia Narbonensis (Unger, n. 1 = Orelli-Henzen, *Inscr. Lat.* n. 6453), and one in Macedonia (Unger, n. 6 = *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. n. 1463). But the former was the regular proconsul appointed by the Senate, and had been as such appointed by the emperor to draw up the census; in the case of the other, who, in the abbreviated title, is only called *cens(itor) provinciae Macedoniae*, his position was probably the same (so Unger). Besides, the inscription belongs only to the second century. An imperial *procurator ad census accipiendos Macedoniae* (therefore in a senatorial province alongside of the proconsul) is met with on an inscription at Thysdrus in Africa (Unger, n. 31 = *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. viii. n. 10,500). But this one also has its origin only in the second century (Unger, p. 58 sq.). Great weight should not indeed be laid upon these facts, for it is possible that even to the imperial provinces the same principles apply: namely, that in the earlier days of the empire the governors were entrusted with the getting up of valuation returns, and only in later times were special census officers appointed alongside of the governors for getting them up (so Unger; compare below, note 125). The main point is, that Augustus, according to all that we know of him, aimed at making it appear that the senatorial provinces were independent.—Compare generally on the imperial right to making a census in the senatorial provinces (and, at the same time, against the idea of an imperial census under Augustus): Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, 1 Aufl. ii. 1, pp. 392–394, ii. 2, p. 945 f.; Hirschfeld, *Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der römischen Verwaltungsgeschichte*, Bd. i. 1887, pp. 17–19; Unger, *Leipziger Studien*, x. pp. 48–59. Hirschfeld holds that it is quite probable "that in the Augustan constitution this sovereign right had been bestowed upon the Senate in its provinces as in Italy," p. 17.

vinces that in the time of Augustus no Roman census had been made in them.[47] The conclusion which we reach then is simply this, that in the time of Augustus valuation censuses had been made in many provinces.[48] And this is quite likely, since the need for such must have been keenly felt after the confusions of the civil war, and Augustus regarded it as his special task to restore matters to an orderly condition. Zumpt lays great stress also upon the fact that the juristic sources from the beginning of the third century after Christ (*Digest.* L. 15) already presuppose a great uniformity in reference to the matter of the valuation census.[49] But there is nothing to justify us in carrying that unification back to Augustus.

But a further remark on the narrative of Luke is:

II. Under a Roman census, Joseph would not have been obliged to travel to Bethlehem, and Mary would not have required to accompany him thither.

Apologetical: Huschke, *Census zur Zeit des Geburts Jesu Christi*, pp. 116–125; Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis*, pp. 92–95; *Beiträge*, pp. 65–69, 46–49; Zumpt, *Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 193–196, 203 f.

In a Roman census the landed property had to be registered for taxation in the commune in whose territory it lay (see above, p. 111). For the rest, the person to be taxed had to enrol his name in the census at his dwelling-place, or at the

[47] Zumpt, *Geburtsjahr Christi*, p. 176 f.

[48] In all essential points Zumpt agrees with this view (compare *Geburtsjahr*, pp. 147 f., 163 ff., 211 f.), only that he goes back to an edict for authority for provincial valuations of different sorts and made at different times. So, too, Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 204 ff.; Lecoultre, *De censu Quiriniano*, p. 28 sqq., and Aberle, who does not assume an edict, but only a decree of Augustus (*Theolog. Quartalschrift*, 1874, p. 664 ff.). The idea of an imperial census, which they avowedly advocate, is thus practically abandoned.

[49] Zumpt, *Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 156–160.

chief town of the taxation district within which he resided. When, on the other hand, Luke tells that Joseph travelled to Bethlehem, because he was of the house of David, it is assumed that the preparation of the taxation lists had been made according to tribes, generations, and families, which was by no means the Roman custom. It is therefore usually conjectured (as is done even by Wieseler and Zumpt) that in that census a concession had been made to the custom of the Jews. Now it is quite correct that the Romans in measures of that kind frequently conformed to existing institutions. But in this particular case such a concession as that referred to would have been very remarkable, since this method of conducting the census would be much more troublesome, and would lead to much greater inconvenience than the Roman plan. It is also extremely questionable whether a registration according to families and generations was any longer possible, since in regard to many it could not now be proved whether they belonged to this family or to that.[50] It is further remarkable that Luke makes it appear as if Mary had been obliged to travel with Joseph in order to be taxed (ver. 5: *ἀπογράψασθαι σὺν Μαριάμ*). No such requirement could have been made by a Roman census. For although women also were liable for the poll-tax (see above, p. 111), they were not accustomed to appear personally at a census,[51] since the particulars required, as may be concluded from the analogy of the old Roman census, could have been supplied by the father of the family.

[50] See Div. II. vol. i. p. 252. The 15th Ab, on which, according to the Mishna, *Taanith* iv. 5, "those of unknown descent" brought the wood for the altar of burnt-offering, is elsewhere designated as the day of the general wood bringing. Only particular tribal houses brought it on special days. With these tribal houses are also related the remnants of a register of generations still continued down to the times of Christ (Div. II. vol. i. p. 219 f.).

[51] As is still assumed by Wieseler, *Beiträge*, pp. 46–49, and Zumpt, *Gebartsjahr Christi*, p. 203 f.

III. A Roman census could not have been made in Palestine during the time of King Herod.

Apologetical: Huschke, *Census zur Zeit des Geburts Jesu Christi*, pp. 99–116; Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis*, pp. 82–92; *Beiträge*, pp. 79–94; Zumpt, *Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 178–186, 212 f.

When Quirinius in A.D. 7 undertook to make a census in Judea, this was quite in order; for Judea had then been converted into a Roman province. On the other hand, Luke would have us believe that a Roman census had been made in Palestine, at a time when Palestine, under Herod the Great, was still an independent kingdom, though under the suzerainty of Rome. After all that we have come to know about the position of the *reges socii* toward the Romans, and especially in regard to the position of Herod, this seems impossible. Pompey had indeed laid the land of Judea under tribute;[52] and Caesar had rearranged the system of taxation by means of a series of edicts.[53] Even Antony had imposed upon Herod a tribute when he appointed him king.[54] But even granting that Herod had continued to pay this tribute under Augustus, it could not even then be supposed that a Roman valuation census should have been made in his country. Such an arrangement in regard to the internal administration might indeed have been ordered in Palestine after it had become a province, but not so long as it was the territory of a *rex socius*.

In order to make the matter conceivable an attempt has been made to point out similar cases, in which presumably in the domain of a *rex socius* a Roman census was made. Thus reference is made to a passage in Tacitus about a

[52] Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 4. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 7. 6.

[53] Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 5. Compare also above, vol. i. p. 379.

[54] Appian, *Civ.* v. 75: ἔστη δέ πη καὶ βασιλέας, οὓς δοκιμάσειεν, ἐπὶ φόροις ἄρα τεταγμένοις, Πόντου μὲν Δαρεῖον τὸν Φαρνάκους τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, Ἰδουμαίων δὲ καὶ Σαμαρέων Ἡρῴδην, κ.τ.λ.

census undertaken among the Clitae;[55] Tacitus, *Annals*, vi. 41: "Per idem tempus Clitarum natio Cappadoci Archelao subiecta, quia nostrum in modum deferre census, pati tributa adigebatur, in iuga Tauri montis abscessit locorumque ingenio sese contra imbelles regis copias tutabatur." But it is not here said that in the domains of King Archelaus a Roman census had been made, but only that Archelaus had wished to make a census according to the Roman custom (*nostrum in modum*) among the Clitae who were subject to him.[56]— Zumpt is of opinion that in the revolt of Judas of Galilee on the occasion of the census of Quirinius in A.D. 7, he has obtained a proof that this census extended not only over the territory of Archelaus (Judea and Samaria), then made into a province, but also over Galilee, since that revolutionary chief must have received his designation from the scene of his operations.[57] But Josephus mentions expressly only the territory of Archelaus as that to which the census applied;[58]

[55] Huschke, *Census zur Zeit der Geburt Jesu Christi*, pp. 102–104; Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis*, p. 83; *Beiträge*, p. 94.

[56] Archelaus is probably a son of the one named above in vol. i. p. 456. Another view, but one that can scarcely be correct, is given by Zumpt, *Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 182–184.

[57] *Geburtsjahr Christi*, p. 191, note.—On the designation of Judas as Galilean, see *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 6: ὁ Γαλιλαῖος Ἰούδας; xx. 5. 2: Ἰούδα τοῦ Γαλιλαίου; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 8. 1: τις ἀνὴρ Γαλιλαῖος Ἰούδας; ii. 17. 8: Ἰούδα τοῦ καλουμένου Γαλιλαίου; Acts of Apostles v. 37: Ἰούδας ὁ Γαλιλαῖος.

[58] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 1: παρῆν δὲ καὶ Κυρήνιος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίων, προσθήκην τῆς Συρίας γενομένην, ἀποτιμησόμενός τε αὐτῶν τὰς οὐσίας καὶ ἀποδωσόμενος τὰ Ἀρχελάου χρήματα.—Shortly before Josephus says, xvii. 13. 5: πέμπεται Κυρήνιος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος, ἀνὴρ ὑπατικός, ἀποτιμησόμενος τὰ ἐν Συρίᾳ καὶ τὸν Ἀρχελάου ἀποδωσόμενος οἶκον. In fact, Quirinius did make valuation returns, not only in Judea, but also elsewhere in Syria, as the inscription of Q. Aemilius Secundus, which in earlier times was erroneously treated as spurious, proved, according to which Secundus by the order of Quirinius made a census at Apamea. See above, vol. i. p. 357. But of the Palestinian districts Josephus distinctly names only those that were then included in the province.—It is also to be observed that the Pharisees who put the question to Jesus about the tribute money

and the designation of Judas as the Galilean is, on the contrary, to be explained by the fact that Judas, belonging to Gamala in Gaulanitis,[59] which may readily be reckoned to Galilee in the wider sense, organized this revolt, not in Galilee but in Judea, and was now named by the inhabitants of Judea after his native country, "the Galilean."[60]

In order to prove the subject position of Herod and the consequent possibility of a Roman census in his domains, it has been pointed out that he was not allowed independently to declare war;[61] that he besought permission of the emperor for the execution of his son;[62] that his subjects also had to take the oath of allegiance to the emperor;[63] that his will required the emperor's confirmation;[64] yea, even the wrestling games in honour of Augustus and the temples erected to the emperor are requisitioned to aid the proof of the possibility of a census.[65] As if any one ever had supposed anything else but that the Jewish vassal kings were undoubtedly dependent upon the Roman emperor. Even from the Jewish coins Wieseler thinks that he can gather material for the vindication of Luke.[66] In regard to this it is eminently deserving of notice that there are Palestinian coins of Augustus with the year numbers 33, 36, 39, 40, 41, which, reckoning according to the Actian era of A.U.C. 723, would belong

are those of Judea (Matt. xxii. 17; Mark xii. 14; Luke xx. 22). Galilee at that time paid no κῆνσος or φόρος.

[59] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 1.

[60] That this is correct is made quite evident, especially from *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 8. 1, where Judas is called ἀνὴρ Γαλιλαῖος, which can mean nothing else than a native of Galilee.

[61] Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 9. 3.

[62] Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 10–11, xvii. 5. 7, xvii. 7.

[63] Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 2. 4. Compare on this oath, above, vol. i. p. 445. It had, as one may conclude, according to the analogy of the oath formula of Assus, not the form of the oath of a subject, but that of a confederate.

[64] Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 8. 4, 11. 4–5.

[65] Wieseler, *Beiträge*, pp. 90–92.

[66] *Beiträge*, pp. 83–89.

to the age of Archelaus, therefore to the time when Judea was still under native princes. But these numbers are probably to be reckoned according to the Augustan era of 1st January A.U.C. 727, according to which the year 33 would correspond to A.U.C. 759.[67]—It is quite irrelevant when reference is made to the fact that Augustus enrolled Herod among "the procurators of Syria, and commanded that everything should be done in accordance with his judgment;"[68] for from this it follows, not that Herod occupied the position of a subject,[69] but, on the contrary, one of high trust on the part of his patrons and friends. A similar explanation may also be given of the threat once uttered by Augustus under extreme provocation when he said (*Antiq.* xvi. 9. 3) that "whereas of old he had used him as his friend, he should now use him as his subject," *ὅτι πάλαι χρώμενος αὐτῷ φίλῳ, νῦν ὑπηκόῳ χρήσεται.* Wieseler, by a rare style of reasoning, seeks to twist this also into a support for his theory.[70] An exact definition of the position of Herod in the sight of the civil law is certainly not easily given, since Josephus, where one would naturally look for an explanation, omits all reference to the question.[71] In A.D. 30 Herod was by a decree of the Senate anew confirmed in the possession of his kingdom.[72] But in regard to the contents of that decree Josephus gives us no details. Even the remark of Dio Cassius, that

[67] Compare on these coins, above, at p. 77, and the literature given there.—The year numbers given as 30, 31, 34, 35 are uncertain; the first two being decidedly doubtful.

[68] Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 10. 3: *ἐγκαταμίγνυσι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτροπεύουσι τῆς Συρίας, ἐντειλάμενος μετὰ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης τὰ πάντα ποιεῖν.* Somewhat differently in *Wars of the Jews.* i. 20. 4: *κατέστησε δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Συρίας ὅλης ἐπίτροπον —, ὡς μηδὲν ἐξείη δίχα τῆς ἐκείνου συμβουλίας τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις διοικεῖν.*—Compare in addition what is said above in vol. i. p. 453.

[69] As Wieseler still holds in *Beiträge*, p. 89 f.

[70] *Chronological Synopsis*, p. 85; *Beiträge*, p. 83.

[71] Compare on the position of *reges socii* under the civil constitution, what is said above in vol. i. p. 448.

[72] Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 6. 7. Compare *Wars of the Jews*, i. 20. 2–3.

Augustus, when, in A.D. 20, he made definite arrangements for regulating affairs in Syria, "arranged the subject domain according to the Roman method, but allowed the confederate princes to rule according to the customs of their fathers,"[73] is too general to permit any very definite conclusion to be drawn from it. It is at least not favourable to the idea of a Roman census in the domains of Herod. The same may be said of the expressions with which Josephus describes the conversion of Judea into a province. They prove satisfactorily that, in the opinion of Josephus, Judea was then for the first time made into a Roman territory subject to the Romans.[74]

Beyond the range of these general remarks we are carried by a consideration of the taxation system in the time of Herod, in so far as we are informed by Josephus. Here we find throughout that Herod acted independently with reference to the taxes, and there is no sign of his paying any of the dues to the Romans. Herod remits sometimes a third,[75] sometimes a fourth[76] of the taxes. He even frees the Jewish colony in Batanea from payment of all taxes of every kind.[77] After his death the Jews obtain from Archelaus a reduction of the oppressive taxation, which was therefore at the disposal also of Archelaus;[78] and the

[73] Dio Cassius, liv. 9: Ὁ δὲ Αὔγουστος τὸ μὲν ὑπήκοον κατὰ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔθη διώκει, τὸ δὲ ἔνσπονδον τῷ πατρίῳ σφίσι τρόπῳ εἶα ἄρχεσθαι.

[74] Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 13. 5: Τῆς Ἀρχελάου χώρας ὑποτελοῦς προτιμηθείσης τῇ Σύρων.—*Wars of the Jews*, ii. 8. 1: τῆς Ἀρχελάου χώρας εἰς ἐπαρχίαν περιγραφείσης.—*Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 1: τῆς Ἀρχελάου ἐθναρχίας μεταπεσούσης εἰς ἐπαρχίαν.—*Antiq.* xviii. 4. 3: οὗ (Archelai) Ῥωμαῖοι παραδεξάμενοι τὴν ἀρχήν.

[75] Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 10. 4.

[76] Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 2. 5.

[77] Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 2. 1: ἀτελῆ τε τὴν χῶραν ἐπηγγέλλετο, καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰσφορῶν ἀπηλλαγμένους ἁπασῶν.

[78] Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 8. 4.—Wieseler is indeed acute enough to make the tax about which the Jews complained into a Roman one; *Chronological Synopsis*, p. 90; *Beiträge*, p. 98 f.

Jewish deputation at Rome complained of the burdensome taxes under Herod, in order to base upon this their request that Palastine should not again be put under the rule of a Herodian. But there is no mention of a Roman tax.[79] We have seen then that Herod dealt quite unrestrictedly with the taxation system of Palestine. It will therefore in any case, even if Herod should have paid tribute to the Romans, be quite correct to affirm that a Roman census and a Roman system of taxation could not have been introduced in his country.[80]

IV. Josephus knows nothing of a Roman census in Palestine in the time of Herod: speaks rather of the census of A.D. 7 as something new and previously unheard of.

Apologetical: Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis*, pp. 86–92; *Beiträge*, pp. 94–104.

In the attempt to weaken the force of the *argumentum e silentio* drawn from Josephus, two different courses have been

[79] Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 11. 2.

[80] The question whether Herod paid a tribute to the Romans is immaterial for the matter now under consideration as to the possibility of a Roman census; for the payment of a lump sum as tribute is something quite different from the direct taxation of the individual inhabitants of the country on the part of the Romans. But even the idea of Herod being under tribute is not probable, at least there is no proof of it. That Antony imposed a tribute upon Herod (Appian, *Civ.* v. 75, see above, p. 122), proves nothing in regard to the time of Augustus. When it is said of Caligula that he, on the reinstatement of kings in the realms of their fathers, granted to them "the full enjoyment of the revenues and also what was due for the intervening vacancy during which the kingdom was in abeyance" (Suetonius, *Caligula*, 16: "si quibus regna restituit, adjecit et fructum omnem vectigaliorum et reditum medii temporis"), we are not to conclude from this that always under other rulers the contrary in both cases was the rule. For Suetonius does not intend in this to point out a special instance of folly, but an instance of good conduct on the part of Caligula. What was extraordinary was only indeed the repayment of the *reditus medii temporis*. We see, however, from this passage that there was in these matters no very strict rule of

taken: some have endeavoured to discover even in Josephus traces of a Roman census in the time of Herod; others have denied that the silence of Josephus proves anything.

Wieseler is of opinion that he has found a trace of that sort in the revolt of Judas and Matthias shortly before the death of Herod,[81] the cause of which is said to have been the taking of a census; whereas Josephus as clearly as possible assigns a cause of an altogether different kind.[82] Another trace is supposed to be found in the detailed reports of the large amount of the revenues of Judea, Galilee, and Trachonitis, which are given by Josephus in his account of the partition of Palestine among Herod's three sons;[83] as if in order to know the amount of these rents it would have been necessary to have a census of the purely Roman kind. It is a fact far more worthy of consideration that on the occasion of that partition Augustus laid down the condition that the rate of taxation of the Samaritans should be reduced one-fourth, since they had not taken part in the war against Varus.[84] This is worthy of attention, because it is the only instance of an interference on the part of the emperor in the matter of the taxation of Judea prior to its being made into a Roman province. But certainly we cannot deduce from it the conclusion which Wieseler[85] wishes to draw, that here we have to do with a Roman tax. On the contrary, the matter

procedure. But seeing that there were πόλεις αὐτόνομοί τε καὶ φόρων ἀτελεῖς (Appian, *Civ.* i. 102), it is not probable that kings were in general placed in a worse position. Compare generally the literature given above in vol. i. p. 448.

[81] Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 6. 2. Compare Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis*, pp. 88–92; *Beiträge*, pp. 98–104.

[82] See above, vol. i. p. 463.

[83] Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 11. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 6. 3. Compare Wieseler, *Beiträge*, p. 99.

[84] Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 4. 4: Τετάρτου μέρους οὗτοι τῶν φόρων παρελέλυντο, Καίσαρος αὐτοῖς κούφισιν ψηφισαμένου διὰ τὸ μὴ συναποστῆναι τῇ λοιπῇ πληθύι. Compare *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 6. 3.

[85] *Beiträge*, p. 99.

treated of throughout is only the revenues of the native princes, Archelaus, Antipas, and Philip; and the mere absence of any reference in this place to a Roman tax speaks strongly in favour of the idea that no such tax was then paid.—Finally, the argumentation is particularly acute, by means of which Zumpt has discovered in Josephus the sought for census, prior to the acknowledged one of A.D. 7. He says[86] that from the account of Josephus with reference to the census of A.D. 7, it follows "that Quirinius then only taxed the property of the Jews, therefore those who were poor and without property were not taken into consideration." But now since the poll-tax existing in the time of Christ presupposes also a list of those without property, such a list must have been drawn up previously, even under Herod. In reference to this statement there are only three things that require to be proved: (1) that Quirinius taxed "only the property" of the Jews; (2) that in Palestine in the time of Christ a poll-tax was in force even for those without property;[87] and (3) that this poll-tax had been introduced as early as in the time of Herod.

In reality, then, Josephus knows nothing of a Roman census in the time of Herod. We may not indeed be inclined ordinarily to lay any weight on *argumenta e silentio;* but in this case the argument is of some importance. In regard to no other period is Josephus so well informed, in regard to none is his narrative so full, as in regard to the last years of Herod. It is scarcely conceivable that a measure so calculated to cut into the very marrow of the people as a Roman census of that period should have been passed over by him, while he faithfully describes the census of A.D. 7, which occurred in a

[86] *Geburtsjahr Christi*, p. 201 f.

[87] According to Appian, *Syr.* 50 (see above, p. 110), it seems rather that the poll-tax in Syria existed only in the form of an income-tax.

period of which Josephus knew practically nothing.[88] It ought also to be remembered that a Roman census could not have passed off without leaving any trace behind, but must have occasioned a rebellion as well as that of A.D. 7, yea, much more, because in this case the latter would have been nothing new. The latter argument, indeed, Zumpt thinks to invalidate by making the census in the time of Herod into an innocent registration (*ἀπογραφή*) of the people for the purpose of the poll-tax, whereas the census of A.D. 7 was a property valuation (*ἀποτίμησις*), and just for that reason was so offensive.[89]—The poll-tax had to be paid as tribute to the Romans, whereas the expenses of the internal government of the country had to be met by the property-tax.[90] But it is in contradiction of all known facts that the tribute to be paid to the Romans should have consisted simply in a poll-tax of equal amount in the case of each *caput*. Appian says expressly that the Syrians paid a poll-tax of one per cent. of the sum of the valuation.[91] If, therefore, a Roman tax had been imposed throughout Palestine, it would certainly not have been a mere poll-tax. And even were this granted, it would still be a Roman tax. There must then have been a numbering of the people, who would have made the imposition of this, just as much as a valuation census of the people, the occasion of a tumult. But, finally, that distinction between the *ἀπογραφή* referred to by Luke ii. 2 and the *ἀποτίμησις* of A.D. 7 completely breaks down before the fact that the latter which occasioned the revolt of Judas of Galilee

[88] Compare above, vol. i. pp. 88, 89.

[89] So also Rodbertus as early as 1865 in *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, v. p. 155 ff.

[90] Zumpt, *Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 196–202. Wieseler also had previously expressed a similar opinion (*Chronological Synopsis*, p. 96, compare p. 84 f.; p. 90 f.), whereas subsequently he reverted to the idea of a poll- and land-tax (*Beiträge*, p. 98 ff.).

[91] Appian, *Syr.* 50 (see above, p. 110). Compare also the grain produce of Africa and Alexandria, p. 110.

is referred to by Luke in the Acts of the Apostles v. 37 in the same words as the so-called numbering of the people in the time of Herod, and the *ἀπογραφή* is simply mentioned as an evident proof that he means in both passages to refer to the same fact.

The most decisive argument, however, against a census in the time of Herod is this, that Josephus characterizes the census of A.D. 7 as something entirely new and previously unheard of among the Jews. When we find Zumpt attempting to represent the novelty as consisting only in the property valuation (*ἀποτίμησις*), and Wieseler thinks that what was new and offensive lay merely in the form of the valuation, namely, the judicial examination (*ἡ ἀκρόασις*) and the obligation to confirm their depositions before a heathen tribunal by means of a definitely prescribed oath,[92] these fine distinctions, which may possibly be spun out of the story in the *Antiquities*, are reduced to nothing when we turn to the parallel account in *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 8. 1, where Josephus expressed himself as follows: *ἐπὶ τούτου* (under Coponius) *τις ἀνὴρ Γαλιλαῖος Ἰούδας ὄνομα εἰς ἀπόστασιν ἐνῆγε τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους, κακίζων εἰ φόρον τε Ῥωμαίοις τελεῖν ὑπομενοῦσι καὶ μετὰ τὸν θεὸν οἵσουσι θνητοὺς δεσπότας*. The offensive thing, therefore, was not the taxing of property, or the form in which it was carried out, but the Roman taxation as such. This is also the assumption lying at the basis of accounts elsewhere given of the rebellion. *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 8. 1: *Ἰούδα τοῦ πείσαντος Ἰουδαίων οὐκ ὀλίγους . . . μὴ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀπογραφάς*; ii. 17. 8: *Ἰουδαίους ὀνειδίσας ὅτι Ῥωμαίοις ὑπετάσσοντο μετὰ τὸν θεόν*. For the Romans at all to raise a tax in Judea was a *novum et inauditum*. Also from the words already quoted

[92] *Beiträge*, pp. 95–97; *Studien und Kritiken*, 1875, p. 546. Compare Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 1: *ἐν δεινῷ φέροντες τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς ἀκρόασιν*, "the judicial examination in connection with the enrolments." Whether this translation is correct, may be regarded as undecided. It would also be possible to render *ἀκρόασις* by "obedience."

above, with which Josephus tells of the conversion of Judea into a province, *Antiq.* xvii. 13. 5 : *τῆς δὲ Ἀρχελάου χώρας ὑποτελοῦς προσνεμηθείσης τῇ Σύρων*, if we take them exactly we shall be obliged to conclude that in the time of Herod and Archelaus no taxes were paid to the Romans. For if it was only after the banishment of Archelaus that Judea was made tributary, it follows that it had not been so previously. The same conclusion may be drawn from other two passages. The tetrarchy of Philip was after his death added by Tiberius to the province of Syria, *τοὺς μέντοι φόρους ἐκέλευσε συλλεγομένους ἐν τῇ τετραρχίᾳ τῇ ἐκείνου γενομένῃ κατατίθεσθαι* (*Antiq.* xviii. 4. 6). If even after the death of Philip no taxes flowed from his tetrarchy into the Roman *fiscus*, much less would this have been the case during his lifetime. But of the Jewish colony at Batanea on which Herod conferred the privilege of being absolutely free from taxation Josephus reports as follows, *Antiq.* xvii. 2. 2 : *Ἐγένετο ἡ χώρα σφόδρα πολυάνθρωπος ἀδείᾳ τοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀτελοῦς. Ἃ παρέμεινεν αὐτοῖς Ἡρώδου ζῶντος· Φίλιππος δὲ δεύτερος ἐκείνου παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὀλίγα τε καὶ ἐπ' ὀλίγον αὐτοὺς ἐπράξατο. Ἀγρίππας μέντοι γε ὁ μέγας καὶ ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁμώνυμος καὶ πάνυ ἐξετρύχωσαν αὐτούς, οὐ μέντοι τὰ τῆς ἐλευθερίας κινεῖν ἠθέλησαν. Παρ' ὧν Ῥωμαῖοι δεξάμενοι τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ μὲν ἐλευθέρου καὶ αὐτοὶ τηροῦσι τὴν ἀξίωσιν, ἐπιβολαῖς δὲ τῶν φόρων εἰς τὸ πάμπαν ἐπίεσαν αὐτούς.* It is thus made quite evident that the raising of a Roman tax in that district began only when it was no longer ruled over by its own princes, whereas under Herod the Great, Philip, Agrippa I., and Agrippa II., these taxes were raised or not raised at the pleasure of the prince.

From all that we have learned, then, the conclusion is Roman taxes could not possibly have been raised in Palestine in the time of Herod, and with this result the Roman census as a matter of course falls to the ground.

But, finally, the main consideration that tells against the account of Luke is:

V. A census held under Quirinius could not have occurred in the time of Herod, for Quirinius was never governor of Syria during the lifetime of Herod.

Not only Matt. ii. 1 ff., but also Luke i. 5, assumes that Jesus was born during the lifetime of Herod. He therefore undoubtedly places the census referred to by him in the period of Herod's reign. But he also says expressly that the census had been made *ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου*, which can mean nothing else than this, that it took place "while Quirinius had the supreme command in Syria," *i.e.* when he was governor of Syria.[93] Now we know indeed that Quirinius arrived in Syria as governor in A.D. 6, and that he had been in possession of the same office even earlier, in B.C. 3–2. But in the time of Herod he cannot have been governor; for from B.C. 9–6 this office was held by Sentius Saturninus, from B.C. 6–4 by Quinctilius Varus. The latter had to suppress the revolt which broke out in Palestine after the death of Herod, and was, therefore, in Syria at least half a year after Herod's death. But the predecessor of Saturninus was Titius.[94] Thus during the last five or six years of Herod, and it is only in regard to them that there can be any question here, there is absolutely no room for Quirinius.

This point has caused most trouble to the vindicators of Luke; and their opinions, which hitherto have been tolerably unanimous, now go very far apart from one another. We pass over the older attempts at solution, for the most part of a most arbitrary description (some even venturing upon the boldest alterations of the text), and restrict ourselves to a

[93] The official title is, *legatus Augusti pro praetore.* See above, vol. i. p. 348.

[94] For proofs, see above, vol. i. p. 350.

statement only of those which have their representatives in the present day.[95]

1. Lutteroth, in order thoroughly to set aside the above stated exegetical facts, has devised the following original explanation. He says:[96] When it is said of John the Baptist in Luke i. 80, that he was in the deserts ἕως ἡμέρας ἀναδείξεως αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ἰσραήλ, by ἀνάδειξις is to be understood, not his public appearance as a preacher of repentance, but his presentation before the people as a child of twelve years, according to the custom of the law. At this point of time the following statement falls to be inserted, that ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις was issued the emperor's edict about the taxing, which was carried out by Quirinius. It was this also that led to Joseph making his journey to Bethlehem. As a subject of Herod Antipas, he would indeed be under no obligation to do this, as the taxing applied only to Judea; but by his voluntary appearance there he would bring into view his Bethlehemite nativity. Luke, therefore, is perfectly correct in setting down the taxing of Quirinius at the time when John the Baptist was twelve years old. The conclusion of Luke ii. 5 is to be translated: To be taxed with Mary, whom he had married when already she was great with child (therefore twelve years before the taxing). To this earlier time then ver. 6 again reverts: And just there, in Bethlehem, were they also when Mary (twelve years before the taxing) brought forth her first-born son, etc. The explanation belongs to the number of those which may excite admiration for their acuteness, but stand in no need of confutation.

2. Huschke,[97] Wieseler,[98] Ewald,[99] Caspari[100] assign to the

[95] The older views are given in Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, ii. 292–294; Bleek, *Synopse*, i. 70 ff.; Meyer, comm. on Luke, on the passage.

[96] *Le récensement de Quirinius en Judée*, Paris 1865, pp. 29–44.

[97] *Census zur Zeit des Geburt Jesu Christi*, p. 78 ff.

[98] *Chronological Synopsis*, pp. 101–106; *Beiträge*, pp. 26–32; *Studien und Kritiken*, 1875, p. 546 ff.

[99] *History of Israel*, vi. 155, note 3.

[100] *Chronological and Geographical Introduction to the Life of Christ*, p. 35.

superlative πρῶτος a practically or exclusively comparative significance, and translate: This taxing was made when first, or before, Quirinius was governor of Syria. Luke therefore expressly distinguishes the taxing made under Herod as an earlier one from the later one made under Quirinius. That this translation in case of need might be justifiable may be admitted (John i. 15, 30).[101] But even then it is by no means proved that it is the correct translation. It is indeed absolutely inconceivable for what purpose Luke should have made the idle remark, that this taxing took place before Quirinius was governor of Syria. Why would he not rather name the governor under whom it did take place? It may indeed be said that he distinguishes the earlier census under Herod from the later under Quirinius. But Luke does not really even do this, according to that translation. He says not: "This taxing took place earlier than that made under Quirinius" (which would have required something like this: *αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο τῆς Κυρηνίου Συρίας ἡγεμονεύοντος γενομένης*); but: "This taxing took place before Quirinius was governor of Syria." So also Wieseler translates, and the analogy of all instances adduced by him (*Chronological Synopsis*, pp. 102, 103; *Beiträge*, pp. 30–32)[102] admits of no other translation. But no unprejudiced person will find a suitable sense in these words. And to this it should be added, that Luke must here have expressed himself in a manner as

[101] Only indeed in case of necessity; for of all the instances which Huschke, pp. 83–85, has brought together in favour of giving to πρῶτος a comparative sense, if we set aside those which are clearly irrelevant, only those remain where two parallel or analogous ideas are compared with each other, but not where, as here, two wholly disparate ideas are before us—the taxing under Herod and the governorship of Quirinius.

[102] Also Sophoches, *Antiq.* 637–658:

ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀξίως ἔσται γάμος
μεῖζον φέρεσθαι σοῦ καλῶς ἡγουμένου,

which is to be translated: "To me with right no marriage will have greater value than that thou leadest me well (than thy noble leading)."

involved and as likely to lead to misunderstanding as possible, whereas elsewhere his special characteristic is just intelligibility and lucidity of expression. No one who does not seek after hazardous explanations will be able to understand πρώτη otherwise than as superlative, and ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου otherwise then as *genitivus absolutus:* as, to name only some authorities, Winer,[103] Buttmann,[104] Zumpt,[105] Bleek,[106] Meyer, etc., have declared.

3. Gumpach,[107] Lichtenstein,[108] Kohler,[109] Steinmeyer,[110] J. Chr. K. von Hofmann,[111] emphasize ἐγένετο, and translate: This taxing "*was carried into effect*" (Gumpach), or "*was completed*" (Kohler, Steinmeyer, Hofmann), while Quirinius was governor of Syria. Luke distinguishes the issuing of the order for the taxing under Herod, and the execution of the decree, ten or twelve years later, under Quirinius. This hypothesis, apparently the most simple, in reality indeed the weakest, comes into conflict, as we shall immediately see, with the narrative of the journey of Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem, according to which it is not only the taxation decree, but also its execution, which took place in the time of Herod. That explanation at best could have a meaning only if one were bold enough to render the simple ἐγένετο by "came to a conclusion, was carried to a close," which, however, even the above-named expositors have not ventured to do.[112]

103 *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, 335. 4, note 1.
104 *Grammatik des neutestamentl. Sprachgebrauchs*, p. 74.
105 *Geburtsjahr Christi*, p. 22.
106 *Synoptische Erklärung der drei ersten Evangelien*, i. 71.
107 *Studien und Kritiken*, 1852, pp. 666-669.
108 *Lebensgeschichte des Herrn Jesu Christi*, p. 78 ff.
109 Herzog, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 1 Aufl. xiii. 463 ff.
110 *Die Geschichte der Geburt des Herrn*, p. 36 ff.
111 *Die heilige Schrift Neuen Testaments zusammenhängend untersucht*, Thl. viii. 1, p. 49; Thl. x. p. 64 ff.
112 Compare against that view especially Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis*, pp. 100, 101; *Beiträge*, p. 25 f.

Ebrard[113] has advanced what he regards as an improved explanation when he accentuates *αὐτὴ ἡ ἀπογραφή* and translates: The raising of the tax itself, however, took place only when Quirinius was governor of Syria. Luke therefore does not distinguish, as those critics before named supposed, the issuing of the order for a valuation of property and the execution of it, but the valuation of property (and that not only the order for it, but also the execution of it) on the one hand, and the levying of the tax based upon that valuation on the other hand. There is thus given to the *subst.* *ἀπογραφή* a completely different meaning from that given to the *verb* *ἀπογράφεσθαι*, which, in the close coherence of the passage, is absolutely impossible. The substantive and the verb alike can mean nothing else than: enrolment, to enrol, and in the strict sense are both specially used of the valuing and enrolment of property. The affirmation that just the census of Quirinius is ordinarily designated by the term *ἀπογραφή*, and that in consequence thereof this word has, for that particular definite case, the meaning of the levying of a tax (pp. 136 f., 140 f.), is a purely imaginary conception, and not once has the attempt been even made to establish it; for the reference to Acts v. 37, and Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 1 ff., cannot be regarded in this light. Instead of *αὐτὴ ἡ ἀπογραφή* it would be necessary to read something like this: *ἡ δὲ τῶν φόρων ἐκλογή* or *εἴσπραξις*. In conclusion, that view also is in contradiction to the history; for Quirinius, in A.D. 7, levied the taxes, not merely on the ground of an earlier valuation, but first of all, and chiefly, he was then engaged in making an *ἀποτίμησις*.[114]

[113] Ebrard, *Gospel History*, Edinburgh, 1869, pp. 136–142.

[114] New and original is the discovery of Godet, who accentuates *αὐτή* but expounds as follows (*Commentary on St. Luke*, vol. i. pp. 128, 129): "Luke breaks off to remark that prior to the well-known enumeration which took place under Quirinius, and which history had taken account of under the name of *the first*, there had really been another, generally lost

4. Seeing then that nothing can be gained by exegetical arts, the attempt has finally been made, even without any such, to vindicate the account of Luke as historical by having recourse to historical combinations. Indeed, Hengstenberg, since the discovery of the famous inscription which afforded evidence of the twice-repeated governorship of Quirinius in Syria, thinks that every difficulty has been wholly removed.[115] That the inscription in reality proves nothing is quite self-evident after the description we have given of it above (see vol. i. p. 353). But also with the twice-repeated governorship of Quirinius in Syria, which is quite probable even apart from the inscription, nothing is gained toward the vindication of Luke; for even the first governorship of Quirinius cannot

sight of, which was the very one here in question; and thus that it was not unadvisedly that he spoke of a census anterior to the first. In this way (1) the intention of this parenthesis is clear; (2) the asyndeton between vers. 1 and 2 is explained quite in a natural way; and (3) the omission of the article ἡ between ἀπογραφή and πρώτη, which has the effect of making ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη a sort of proper name (like ἡ ἐπιστολὴ πρώτη, δευτέρα), is completely justified."—Consequently Godet translates: "As to the census itself called *the first*, it took place under the government of Quirinius."

[115] Compare *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, 1865, col. 65 f., where he expresses himself about Strauss as follows: "He is so utterly unfamiliar with the state of matters in those times that he quite confidently repeats the old objection against the taxing of Luke, that Quirinius had not entered upon the governorship until several years after Herod's death, without having any suspicion of the fact that the question has long ago entered upon quite another stage by the discovery of a later inscription which affords evidence that Quirinius was twice governor in Syria. This inscription was described as early as 1851 by Bergmann in a special treatise, and has been reprinted in so accessible a book as the Tacitus of Nipperdey. But Strauss knows nothing of it."—And Hengstenberg, we add, seems to have known nothing of the following facts: (1) That in 1865 the inscription had been known for a hundred years; (2) that it had been used by as early a writer as Sanclemente, in A.D. 1793, in vindication of Luke; (3) that it absolutely does not contain a testimony to Quirinius having been governor twice; and (4) that even with a twice-repeated governorship of Quirinius nothing is gained in the way of justifying Luke.

at the earliest have begun till at least half a year after the death of Herod (see above, p. 133), whereas, according to Luke, Quirinius must have been governor in the time of Herod. Zumpt[116] and, after him, Pölzl,[117] relying for support on a passage in Tertullian,[118] seek assistance by assuming that the census was begun by Sentius Saturninus, B.C. 9–6, carried on by Quinctilius Varius, B.C. 6–4, and brought to an end by Quirinius during his first governorship. From Quirinius, as the completer of the work, it has received the name; wherefore also Luke says that it was made under him. So far then as Tertullian is concerned, Zumpt himself says in another part of his work[119] that the Church Fathers "generally are wanting in all historical sense in the stating of the Gospel narrative." On their statements, therefore, nothing can with safety be built. But in other respects Zumpt's theory is only a falling back upon the theory of Gumpach and others, referred to under No. 3. The matter then stands so, in Zumpt's opinion, that either in place of *ἐγένετο* we must put a verb like *ἐτελέσθη*, or instead of Quirinius must be put the name of that governor in whose term of office the fact recorded by Luke, the journey of Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem, took place;[120] for Luke does indeed intend by mentioning the name simply to determine the time of which he speaks. Thus, as the words imply, the representation that the birth of Jesus Christ took place in the time of Quirinius is necessarily fundamental to the hypothesis, which, however, is impossible. Above all, it is inconceivable that the *ἀπογραφή*, in the way

[116] *Geburtsjahr Christi*, pp. 207–224.

[117] Wetzer and Welte's *Kirchenlexikon*, 2 Aufl. Bd. iii. Sp. 5–7.

[118] Tertullian, *Adv. Marcion*, iv. 19: "Sed et census constat actos sub Augusto nunc in Judaea per Sentium Saturninum, apud quos genus ejus inquirere potuissent."

[119] *Geburtsjahr Christi*, p. 189, note. Compare also: Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis*, p. 99, note 2.

[120] Therefore, according to Zumpt, Sentius Saturninus.

in which it is represented by Zumpt, namely, as a simple enrolment of the people without a property valuation, should have taken three or four years, whereas the much more difficult ἀποτίμησις of A.D. 7, which, besides, had to encounter the opposition of the people, was completed at farthest in the course of one year.[121]

Both difficulties might indeed be overcome were we to assume, with Gerlach [122] and Quandt,[123] that Quirinius had been sent to Syria along with Quinctilius Varus (B.C. 6–4) as extraordinary legate, and as such had undertaken the census.[124] In its best and most precise form this theory was represented by Sanclemente, for he assumes that Quirinius had been despatched to Syria as *legatus ad census accipiendos*, and indeed with a higher authority than the ordinary legate of Syria of that time, Sentius Saturninus.[125] But this expedient is

[121] For it was begun after the banishment of Archelaus, at the earliest in the summer of A.U.C. 759, and was, according to Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 1, completed in the year 37 of the Actian era = autumn of A.U.C. 759–760. It is to be placed therefore late in autumn of A.U.C. 760, *i.e.* in A.D. 7.

[122] *Die römischen Statthalter in Syrien und Judäa*, pp. 33–35.

[123] *Zeitordnung und Zeitbestimmungen in den Evangelien* (also under the title: *Chronologisch-geographische Beiträge zum Verständniss der heiligen Schrift.* i. *Chronolog. Beiträge*, 1 Abthlg., Gütersloh 1872), pp. 18–25.

[124] What Gerlach says at p. 33 f. about the possibility of two governors in one province, proves only gross ignorance of the facts of the case. See against him, Wieseler, *Beiträge*, p. 43 f.—The case is better with Quandt, who conjectures that Varus occupied a position subordinate to Quirinius (see *Zeitordnung*, p. 22). But, according to Josephus, there can be no doubt that Varus was in possession of the supreme command in Syria.

[125] Sanclemente, *De vulgaris aerae emendatione*, iv. 6, pp. 443–448.—The materials regarding the *legati* and *procuratores ad census accipiendos* may be found collected together in Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Bd. ii. 1876, p. 209 (2 Aufl. von Dessen und Domaszewski besorgt, 1884, pp. 215, 216); and Unger, "De censibus provinciarum Romanorum" (*Leipziger Studien zur class. Philol.* Bd. x. 1887, pp. 1–76).—It is not yet decided whether there were even in early imperial times special officers of this sort besides the ordinary governors in the provinces. Unger contends against the idea by seeking to prove that in the earlier days of the empire the governors were themselves charged with the business of valuation and taxing, and that in

absolutely inadmissible from the words of the evangelist, since ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου can mean nothing else than "when Cyrenius had the supreme command (or, what is the same thing, the office of governor) over Syria." Luke therefore undoubtedly considers Quirinius as the ordinary and regular legate of Syria. But this office, as is thoroughly well established on historical grounds, was occupied in the last years of Herod, not by Quirinius, but by Sentius Saturninus, B.C. 9–6, and then by Quinctilius Varus, B.C. 6–4.[126] The statement of Luke then can be indicated historically only if it could be proved that Quirinius had been already in the times of Herod governor of Syria. But such a proof can never be produced, since, Aberle notwithstanding, the contrary is an established fact.[127]

All ways of escape are closed, and there remains nothing

the senatorial provinces it was only in the second century, and in the imperial provinces still later, that special officers of equestrian rank besides the governors had control given them of taxation matters. Of both cases where the governor held also the finance office, and again where special finance officers were appointed, there are several unmistakable instances. The earliest case belonging to the former class is that of Quirinius, who, according to Josephus, as well as according to Luke, was at once governor and censor. Four other instances are collected by Unger, p. 54 f. But the material is too scanty to afford a certain conclusion of a general description.

[126] Compare against that theory also Huschke, *Ueber den zur Zeit der Geburt Jesu Christi gehaltenen Census*, p. 75 f.

[127] Aberle (*Quartalschrift*, 1865, p. 129 ff.; 1868, p. 29 ff.), by "the perception of the great, we might almost say, official-like, precision by which such statements in Luke are characterized" (1865, p. 148), has been led to the discovery that Quirinius in fact was governor of Syria in the last years of Herod, and was only detained in Rome by Augustus. Quinctilius Varus was therefore obliged to remain at his post, so that there were at the same time two governors: Quirinius was the governor *de jure*, Varus, *de facto*. Luke names the former, Josephus the latter. In opposition to this acute attempted solution it is sufficient to remark that Luke would have only been deceiving us, if, instead of the actual governors who must have conducted the census, he had only named the governor *de jure*. The words of Luke admit of no other explanation but that Quirinius was actual governor of Syria.

else but to acknowledge that the evangelist has made his statement trusting to imperfect information, so that it is not in accordance with the facts of history. This is the conclusion reached by Höck,[128] Mommsen,[129] Hase,[130] Winer, Bleek, De Wette,[131] Meyer, Strauss, Hilgenfeld, Keim, Weizsäcker, Sevin, Lecoultre, and in all essential respects also by Sieffert.[132] The contradiction of history is twofold: (1) Luke ascribes to Augustus the order that a census should be made throughout the whole empire. Of such an imperial census history knows nothing. It is possible that Augustus may have held censuses in many, perhaps in most, of the provinces, and that Luke had some vague information about these. But these numerous provincial censuses, diverse in respect of time and form, could not be referred back to a single edict. Luke has therefore here generalized in a manner similar to that in which he deals with the famine in the days of Claudius. Just as out of the various famines, which, in quite an unusual manner, occurred in various parts of the empire during the reign of Claudius, he makes a famine extending ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην (Acts xi. 28, see regarding it below under § 19); so also may the various provincial censuses of which he had heard have become combined in his representation into one

Only for the sake of completeness we should here mention the discovery of Pfitzner (*Programm des Gymnasiums zu Parchim*, Easter 1873, pp. 8–13), that Varus had indeed been governor of Syria in B.C. 6 and B.C. 4; but between these two dates, in B.C. 5, a year passed over by Josephus (!), P. Quirinius was governor. If Pfitzner had not only made reference to the work of Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 275, but had also thoroughly examined it, he would on this point have learned his lesson better.

[128] *Römische Geschichte*, i. 2, p. 412 ff.

[129] *Res gestae divi Augusti*, ed. 2, p. 175 sq.

[130] *Leben Jesu*, sec. 23. [131] *Exegetisches Handbuch zu d. St.*

[132] All of them in their works before referred to.—Sieffert indeed holds fast by the theory that a census was made in Palestine by the emperor's orders under Herod, but admits that the two taxings, that under Herod and that under Quirinius, are not clearly distinguished chronologically by Luke, but are in his picture allowed to blend together.

imperial census. Should the statement about an imperial survey by Augustus be historical (see above, p. 117), even this might have contributed to the production of his mistake. (2) He knows further that a census in Judea under Quirinius had taken place somewhere about the time of the birth of Jesus Christ. By means of this census he explains the fact that the parents of Jesus travelled from Nazareth to Bethlehem, and places it therefore exactly in the time of the birth of Christ, under Herod, *i.e.* about ten or twelve years too soon. That Luke was indeed acquainted with this taxing, and was acquainted only with it, is established by the passage in the Acts of the Apostles (v. 37), where he speaks expressly of it as "the taxing."

Whoever thinks that such errors should not have been expected from Luke, needs only to be reminded of the fact that Justin Martyr, who belonged to the educated class, regarded King Ptolemy, at whose instance the Bible was translated into Greek, as a contemporary of King Herod (*Apol.* i. c. 31). Even Luke himself cannot be pronounced free from other errors; for Theudas, to whom he ascribes the work and movement of Judas of Galilee (Acts v. 36 ff.), can scarcely be any other Theudas than the well-known bearer of that name, who actually lived somewhere about forty years later (see § 19).

EXCURSUS II.—THE SO-CALLED TESTIMONY OF JOSEPHUS TO CHRIST, *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 3.

A list of the literature on this point is given by: Oberthür in Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graec.* ed. Harles, t. v. pp. 49–56; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, ii. pp. 127–132; Hase, *Leben Jesu*, § 9; Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, i. 558; Heinichen in his edition of Eusebii *Scripta Historica*, vol. iii. (1870) p. 623 sqq.—The older treatises are printed in Havercamp's edition of Josephus, ii. 2, pp. 186–286.—Some controversial tracts of the time of

Richard Simon are enumerated by Bernus, *Notice bibliographique sur Richard Simon* (Bâle 1882), n. 110, 230, 238, 239.

From a vast number of treatises and pamphlets we select the following of more recent times :—

I. Defending the Genuineness.

Bretschneider, *Capita theologiae Judaeorum dogmaticae e. Flavii Josephi scriptis collecta* (1812), pp. 59–66.

Böhmert, *Ueber des Flavius Josephus Zeugniss von Christo*, 1823.

Schödel, *Flavius Josephus de Jesu Christo testatus*, 1840.

Mayaud, *Le témoignage de Joseph*, Strasb. 1858.

Langen, *Theologische Quartalschrift*, 1865, p. 51 ff.

Danko, *Historia revelationis divinae Novi Testamenti* (1867), pp. 308–314.

Mensinga, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1889, p. 388 (genuine apart from possible modifications of the text, which, however, have not yet been proved).

II. Maintaining the Theory of Interpolation.

Gieseler, *Ecclesiastical History* (Edin. 1846, 5 vols.), vol. i. p. 63.

Hase, *Leben Jesu*, § 9 ("wholly or at least in part non-genuine").

Ewald, *History of Israel*, vi. 138–142.

Paret in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 1 Aufl. vii. 27–29.

Heinichen in his edition of Eusebii *Scripta Historica*, vol. iii. ed. 2, 1870, pp. 623–654.

Wieseler, *Des Josephus Zeugnisse über Christus und Jakobus, den Bruder des Herrn* (*Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1878, p. 86 ff.).

Volkmar, *Jesus Nazarenus*, 1882, pp. 335–345.

Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, 3 Thl. 2 Abthlg. (1883) p. 40 f.

Scholten, *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1882, pp. 428–451 (compare the review by Van Manen in *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, 1883, p. 608 f.).

Mensinga, *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1883, pp. 145–152 (Van Manen, *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, 1883, p. 618).

Gust. Ad. Müller, *Christus bei Josephus Flavius*, Innsbruck 1890 (53 pp.).

Edersheim in art. in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, "Josephus. 5. The Alleged Testimony of Josephus to Jesus Christ," vol. iii. pp. 458–460.

III. Against the Genuineness.

Eichstaedt, *Flaviani de Jesu Christo testimonii αὐθεντία quo jure nuper rursus defensa sit quaest.* i.-vi., Jen. 1813–1841. *Quaestionibus sex*

super Flaviano de Jesu Christo testimonio auctarium, i.-iv., Jen. 1841–1845.

LEWITZ, *Quaestionum Flavianarum specimen*, Regiomon. Pruss. 1835.

REUSS, *Nouvelle Revue de Théologie*, 1859, pp. 312–319.

ERNST GERLACH, *Die Weissagungen des Alten Testamentes in den Schriften des Flavius Josephus und das angebliche Zeugniss von Christo*, 1863.

KEIM, *Jesus of Nazara*, vol. i. pp. 16–21.

HÖHNE, *Ueber das angebliche Zeugniss von Christo bei Josephus*, Zwickau 1871, Gymnasial-programme.

D'AVIS, *Die Zeugnisse nichtchristlicher Autoren des ersten Jahrhunderts über Christus und das Christenthum*, Sigmaringen 1873, Gymnasial-programme (p. 8: "Probably the whole passage is an interpolation, or rather, perhaps, is thoroughly corrupted by interpolations").

LOMAN, *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1882, pp. 593–601 (p. 596: a genuine basis is possible, but "scarcely probable." Compare the review by Van Manen, *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, 1883, pp. 593–595, 614).

In our manuscripts and editions of Josephus the following passage concerning Christ is found, *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 3:—

Γίνεται δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἰησοῦς, σοφὸς ἀνήρ, εἴ γε ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρή. Ἦν γὰρ παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητής, διδάσκαλος ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡδονῇ τἀληθῆ δεχομένων· καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐπηγάγετο. Ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν. Καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδείξει τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν παρ' ἡμῖν σταυρῷ ἐπιτετιμηκότος Πιλάτου, οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο οἱ τὸ πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἀγαπήσαντες· ἐφάνη γὰρ αὐτοῖς τρίτην ἔχων ἡμέραν πάλιν ζῶν, τῶν θείων προφητῶν ταῦτά τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία θαυμάσια περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰρηκότων. Εἰσέτι τε νῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὠνομασμένων οὐκ ἐπέλιπε τὸ φῦλον.

"Now there was about this time, Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works—a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles. He was the Christ; and when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men amongst us, had con-

demned him to the cross, those that loved him at the first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them alive again the third day, as the divine prophets had foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him; and the tribe of Christians so named from him are not extinct at this day."

From the fourth century, when this passage was quoted by Eusebius and others (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* i. 11; *Demonstratio Evangelica,* iii. 3. 105–106, ed. Gaisford; Pseudo-Hegesippus, *De bello Judaico,* ii. 12), through the whole of the Middle Ages, the genuineness of this paragraph was never disputed. Indeed, it contributed not a little to exalt the reputation of Josephus in the Christian Church. It was eagerly seized upon as a proof of the truth of the evangelical history. It was only in the sixteenth century that criticism first moved in the matter, and since then to the present day the controversy, *pro* and *con,* has gone on uninterruptedly. We may surely be at least unanimous as to this, that the words, as we have them now, were not written by Josephus. Whatever may be advanced in their favour does not amount to much in comparison with the unquestionable indications of spuriousness. Our manuscripts, of which the oldest, the *Ambrosianus F.* 128 *sup.*, do not go further back than the eleventh century (see above, vol. i. p. 103),[1] without exception have this paragraph. But this proves only the great antiquity of the interpolation, which besides is vouched for by Eusebius. Over against the old citations since Eusebius stands the fact that it is extremely probable that Origen did not read this passage in his text of Josephus; for, just where one would have expected it, he betrays no knowledge of it.[2] Even then,

[1] The equally ancient *Parisin.* 1419, which Gerlach, p. 107, designates the oldest manuscript, contains only the first ten books of the *Antiquities.*

[2] In several passages where Origen speaks of James, the brother of Jesus Christ, he mentions it as a remarkable circumstance that Josephus should have made favourable allusion to this man, although he (Josephus)

in respect of the external evidences, objections are not altogether wanting. But the objections on internal grounds are more decided. If reference be made to the genuinely Josephine style, we may for that only bestow upon the interpolator the praise of having very skilfully performed his task. The similarity of style is not sufficient to outweigh the non-Josephine character of the contents. As concerns the contents then, it is clear that whoever wrote the words ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν was distinctly a Christian; for that ἦν is not equivalent to ἐνομίζετο and cannot be rendered: He was the Christ in the popular belief. On this point it is not necessary to say more. But it is also equally certain that Josephus was not a Christian. *Ergo:* the passage, to say the least of it, has interpolations in it.

The point under discussion is simply this: whether there are interpolations in the passage or whether it is wholly spurious. Let us make the attempt to distinguish, and cast out what is suspicious. The words εἴ γε ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρή evidently presuppose belief in the divinity of Christ, and betray the Christian interpolator. The following, ἦν παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητής, might in a case of necessity have been said by Josephus, if it were not that they form the fundamental support of the non-genuine words preceding them. At any rate, the words διδάσκαλος ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡδονῇ τἀληθῆ δεχομένων again must have come from a Christian pen. That ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν was not written by Josephus has been already pointed out. And just as certainly he has not written: ἐφάνη αὐτοῖς τρίτην ἔχων ἡμέραν πάλιν ζῶν, τῶν θείων προφητῶν ταῦτά τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία θαυμάσια περὶ

did not believe in Jesus as the Christ. (1) *Com. in Matth.* tom. x. c. 17 (on Matt. xiii. 55): καὶ τὸ θαυμαστόν ἐστιν, ὅτι τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἡμῶν οὐ καταδεξάμενος εἶναι Χριστόν, οὐδὲν ἧττον Ἰακώβῳ δικαιοσύνην ἐμαρτύρησε τοσαύτην. (2) *Contra Cels.* i. 47: ὁ δ' αὐτὸς καίτοι γε ἀπιστῶν τῷ Ἰησοῦ ὡς Χριστῷ κ.τ.λ.—It is scarcely conceivable that Origen would have so expressed himself, if he had known the famous passage.

αὐτοῦ εἰρηκότων. Finally, also, the concluding words want the necessary support so soon as the words *ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν* are removed from the text.

If, now, we examine the passage as thus reduced we shall find that as good as nothing remains: a couple of insignificant phrases which, in the form in which they stand after our operation has been performed, could not have been written by Josephus. If one therefore continues to maintain the theory of interpolation, it cannot at any rate be in the sense of a simple insertion of Christian additions, but, with Ewald, Paret, and others, in the sense of a complete working up in a new form of the original text of Josephus.

But if it is once admitted as an established fact, that of the present text scarcely a couple of words are from the hand of Josephus, is it not then more reasonable to recognise the utter spuriousness of the passage, and assume that Josephus has throughout been silent regarding Christ? That this hypothesis is impossible cannot be maintained. It is known that Josephus wished to represent his people in the most favourable light possible. Therefore he speaks as little as he can of the Messianic Hope, since to his cultured readers it could only have appeared as foolishness, and, besides, would have been an unwelcome subject with the favourite of the Caesars; for in it lay the power of the opposition to Rome. Josephus might casually refer to John the Baptist without making mention of the Messianic Hope; but this would have been no longer possible had he introduced Christ. He could neither represent Christ as a teacher of virtue, like the Baptist, nor describe the Christian community as a school of philosophy, like those of the Pharisees and Sadducees. Therefore he will be silent throughout about this phenomenon.

If, for proof of the contrary, we should refer to the subsequent mention of James, the brother of Jesus Christ (*Antiq.* xx. 9. 1: *τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ,*

Ἰάκωβος ὄνομα αὐτῷ), in order to draw from it the conclusion that some previous mention of Christ must have been made, it has to be answered, that the genuineness of this passage is also very seriously disputed. Indeed, on the contrary, one must say: the very statements which we have in reference to James prove that Josephus has been interpolated by Christian hands. For Origen, in his text of Josephus, read a passage about James which is to be found in none of our manuscripts, which therefore, without doubt, was a single instance of a Christian interpolation not carried over into the vulgar text of Josephus.[3]

We therefore, although absolute certainty on such questions cannot be attained, are inclined to prefer the theory of the utter spuriousness as simpler than that of the merely partial spuriousness of the passage.

[3] See under § 19, in the section on Porcius Festus, and the literature referred to there.

§ 18. HEROD AGRIPPA I., A.D. 37, 40, 41-44.

SOURCES.

JOSEPHUS, *Antiq.* xviii. 6, xix. 5–9; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 11; Zonares, *Annales*, vi. 7–11 (an Abstract of Josephus).

In the New Testament: Acts xii.

Rabbinical Traditions in Derenbourg, pp. 205–219.

The coins are most completely given in Madden, *Coins of the Jews* (1881), pp. 129–139.

LITERATURE.

EWALD, *History of Israel*, vii. 236–247, 257–270.

GRÄTZ, *Geschichte der Juden*, 4 Aufl. iii. pp. 318–361.

HITZIG, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 568–571.

SCHNECKENBURGER, *Zeitgeschichte*, pp. 211–215.

HAUSRATH, *Zeitgeschichte*, 2 Aufl. ii. 212–225, 266–283.

LEWIN, *Fasti sacri* (1865), *ad ann.* 31–44. See also the Index, p. 389 sq.

WINER, *Realwörterbuch*, i. 484 f.

KEIM, *Jesus of Nazara*, i. 272–275. In Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*, iii. 49–56.

HAMBURGER, *Real-Encyclopaedie für Bibel und Talmud.*, Abthl. ii. art. "Agrippa."

DE SAULCY, *Étude chronologique de la vie et des monnaies des rois juifs Agrippa I. et Agrippa II.* 1869 (see above, vol. i. p. 27).

GERLACH, *Zeitschrift für lutherische Theologie*, 1869, pp. 53–62.

MENKE'S *Bibelatlas*, Bl. v., Special Map of "Judea and Neighbouring Countries in the last years of King Agrippa I."

I.

WHEN Agrippa I.[1] ascended the throne of Herod the Great, he had already passed through an eventful and adventurous career. He was born in B.C. 10,[2] as the son of Aristobulus,

[1] The New Testament, Acts xii., names him simply as Herod. By Josephus, however, and on the coins, he is always designated Agrippa.

[2] As is evident from *Antiq.* xix. 8. 2, according to which he had reached at his death, in A.D. 44, the age of fifty-four years.

who was executed in A.D. 7, and Berenice, a daughter of Salome and Costobar.[3] Shortly before the death of his grandfather he was, while a boy of scarcely six years old, sent for his education to Rome. His mother Berenice was there treated in a friendly manner by Antonia, the widow of the elder Drusus, while the young Agrippa himself became attached to the younger Drusus, the son of the Emperor Tiberius. The influence of the Roman society seems not to have been a favourable or healthy one. He was trained up to entertain ambitious projects and in habits of extravagance, which, especially after the death of his mother, knew no measure or bounds. He soon ran through his means. His debts accumulated upon him. And when by the death of Drusus, which took place in A.D. 23, he lost support and favour at court, he found himself obliged to leave Rome and go back again to Palestine.[4] He betook himself to Malatha, a stronghold in Idumea,[5] and meditated committing suicide. When these tidings reached his wife Cypros, she wrote to Agrippa's sister Herodias, who was by this time married to Antipas, and entreated her help. Herod Antipas was in this way induced to give to his distressed brother-in-law what would be at least sufficient for the support of his life, and gave him, in addition, the appointment of Agoranomos (overseer of markets) in the capital, Tiberias. This new position

[3] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 4.

[4] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 1. — Wieseler, *Beweis des Glaubens*, 1870, p. 168 f., places the journey of Agrippa from Rome to Palestine in A.D. 29 or 30, which may perchance be correct. At any rate it did not take place, as what follows shows, until after the marriage of Herodias with Antipas.

[5] Μαλαθά or Μαλααθά is also several times referred to in the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius (ed. Lagarde, pp. 214, 255, 266). It lay fully 20 Roman miles south of Hebron, probably on the site of the modern Tell-el-Milh. See Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, ii. 201; Ewald, *History of Israel*, vii. 237; Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 184–188; *The Survey of Western Palestine*, Memoirs by Conder and Kitchener, iii. pp. 404, 415 sq.; also Sheet xxv. of the large English Map.

in life did not indeed continue long. At a banquet in Tyre the two brothers-in-law once engaged in a dispute, which ended in Agrippa resigning his situation at Tiberias, and betaking himself to the Roman governor Flaccus in Antioch.[6] But here, too, his stay was not of long duration. In a dispute which broke out on one occasion between the inhabitants of Sidon and those of Damascus, Agrippa took the side of the Damascenes, apparently in a thoroughly disinterested manner, but really in consequence of bribes which he had taken from them. When this came to the ears of Flaccus, he broke off friendly relations with him; and Agrippa found himself once again deprived of all means of subsistence. He then resolved to try his fortune again in Rome. After he had meanwhile raised a loan in Ptolemais by the assistance of a freedman of his mother Berenice, called Peter, and at Anthedon had only with difficulty escaped the hands of Capito, the procurator of Jamnia, who wished to apprehend him as a debtor of the emperor's, and had finally in Alexandria succeeded in raising large sums on the credit of his wife, he arrived in Italy in the spring of A.D. 36,[7] and on the island of Capri[8] presented himself before Tiberius.[9] The emperor entrusted him with the oversight of his grandson Tiberius. He became particularly intimate with Caius Caligula, the grandson of his patroness Antonia, who afterwards became emperor. But even now he could not keep himself out of debt. Yea, in order to appease his old creditors he was obliged always to borrow new and even larger sums.[10] It was not therefore to be

[6] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 2.

[7] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 3: ἐνιαυτῷ πρότερον ἢ τελευτῆσαι Τιβέριον.—Wieseler rejects this fact, and, on account of the Piso mentioned in what follows, places the arrival of Agrippa in A.D. 32. *Beiträge*, p. 13: "probably A.D. 31, at latest A.D. 32;" but in his article in the *Beweis des Glaubens*, 1870, p. 169, he says distinctly: "not before A.D. 32."

[8] Where Tiberius lived almost without interruption from A.D. 27 (Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 67) down to his death.

[9] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 3.

[10] *Ibid.* xviii. 6. 4.

wondered at that he eagerly desired an improvement in his circumstances; but there seemed at that time no prospect of accomplishing it until the aged Tiberius should be succeeded on the throne by Caligula, whom he had befriended. Unthinkingly he once expressed his wish aloud to Caligula in the presence of his coachman Eutychus. At a later period he happened to bring a charge of theft against this same Eutychus, and had him brought before the city prefect Piso.[11] Eutychus now made a declaration that he had an important secret to communicate to the emperor. Tiberius at first gave no heed to the matter.[12] But when, after some time,[13] a hearing was granted, and Tiberius came to know what Agrippa had said, he had him immediately put in fetters and cast into prison. Agrippa now continued in confinement for six months, until the death of the emperor on 16th March A.D. 37.[14]

With the death of Tiberius and the accession of Caligula began for Agrippa the period of his good fortune. Caligula scarcely waited till the solemnities of the funeral of Tiberius were over before he had delivered his friend from his imprisonment and conferred upon him what had been the tetrarchy of Philip, and that also of Lysanias, with the title of king. To this gift the Senate further added the honorary rank of a praetor.[15] Instead of the iron chain which he had

[11] The Piso here referred to cannot have been the same as the one who was dead, according to Tacitus, *Annals*, vi. 10, in A.D. 32, as Wieseler, *Beiträge*, p. 8 ff., wishes to make out; for he is still referred to in Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 10, after the death of Tiberius.—Josephus in two passages designates him φύλαξ τῆς πόλεως. On other Greek designations of the *praefectus urbi*, see Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, ii. 2. 981.

[12] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 5.

[13] χρόνου ἐγγενομένου (*Antiq.* xviii. 6. 6), of which Wieseler makes four years. See the *Beweis des Glaubens*, 1870, p. 169.

[14] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 6–7; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 5.

[15] Philo, *In Flaccum*, sec. 6, ed. Mangey, ii. 523. Compare above, vol. i. p. 450. The loan was obtained, not through the emperor, but through the Senate. See Philo, *l.c.*: βασιλέα καὶ φίλον Καίσαρος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς τετιμημένον στρατηγικαῖς τιμαῖς.

worn, Caligula gave him a golden chain of equal weight.[16] But Agrippa still continued to stay in Rome for a year and a half. It was not before autumn of A.D. 38 that he went back by way of Alexandria to Palestine, that he might set in order the affairs of his kingdom.[17]

Soon afterwards, through imperial favour, he obtained yet more important territorial additions. It has been already told (above, at p. 36) how Herod Antipas in A.D. 39, by his own fault, had lost his tetrarchy, and now, probably not before A.D. 40, Caligula bestowed it also upon Agrippa.

In the autumn of that same year we find Agrippa once more at Rome or Puteoli, where he contrived by his personal intercession to prevent Caligula, at least for a long time, from persisting in his attempt to set up his statue in the temple of Jerusalem (see above, p. 102). He then remained in the company of Caligula, and was still present in Rome when his patron, on 24th January A.D. 41, was murdered by Chärea, and contributed not a little to secure the succession to the throne of the Caesars to the feeble Claudius.[18] It may readily be supposed that he was not the man to perform such services without securing some personal advantage. The new emperor was obliged, in return, not only to confirm him in the possessions which he had previously, but also to add to these Judea and Samaria; so that Agrippa now united under his sway the whole territory of his grandfather. Besides this, he obtained consular rank. For the confirming of this grant, according to ancient custom, a solemn covenant was con-

[16] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 10; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 9. 6; Philo, *In Flaccum*, sec. 5 *init.*, ed. Mangey, ii. 520 sq.; Dio Cassius, lix. 8.—From the inscription at El-Muschennef (in Le Bas et Waddington, *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines*, t. iii. n. 2211) we see that the territories of Agrippa extended as far as what is now the Haurân.

[17] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 11; Philo, *In Flaccum*, sec. 5, ed. Mangey, ii. 521. Compare above, p. 37 and p. 95.

[18] Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 1–4; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 11.

cluded in the Forum, but the documentary deed of gift was engraved on brazen tablets and placed in the Capitol.[19]

II.

The first act by which Agrippa celebrated his return to Palestine was significant of the spirit and disposition with which he was to conduct the government of his kingdom. It was an act of piety. The golden chain which Caligula had bestowed upon him on his liberation from imprisonment "he hung up within the limits of the temple, over the treasury, that it might be a memorial of the severe fate he had lain under, and a testimony of his change for the better; and that it might be a demonstration how the greatest pro-

[19] Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 5. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 11. 5; Dio Cassius, lx. 8. Josephus expresses himself in such a manner as to imply that the tetrarchy of Lysanias was now anew conferred upon Agrippa. But seeing that he had already received that territory from Caligula, the statement can only mean that now the gift was formally confirmed. It is in the highest degree probable that Josephus found in the documents which he used the statement that Agrippa, by the favour of Claudius, held possession of the tetrarchy of Lysanias in addition to the whole territories of his grandfather.—The concluding of the covenant is represented on a coin, of which the superscription is indeed no longer perfectly legible; on which, however, at any rate there is mention of a συμμαχία of King Agrippa with the Roman Senate and people (σύνκλητος καὶ δῆμος Ῥωμαίων). See especially Reichardt in the *Numismatische Zeitschrift* of Huber and Karabacek, iii. 1871, pp. 83–88; Mommsen, *Num. Zeitschrift*, iii. pp. 449 ff.; Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1875, pp. 69–76; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881, p. 136 sq. Among the six different attempted readings enumerated by Madden, the most successful is that of Mommsen.—That Claudius was generally inclined toward such old covenants is affirmed by Suetonius, *Claudius*, 25: "Cum regibus foedus in foro icit porca caesa ac vetere fetialium praefatione adhibita."

A return home of Agrippa I. or II. (possibly the present return of Agrippa I.) is referred to in the inscription of El-Muschennef in Le Bas et Waddington, *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines*, t. iii. n. 2211:

Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας κυρίου βασι-
λέως Ἀγρίππα καὶ ἐπανόδου κα-
τ' εὐχὴν Διὸς καὶ πατρίου (?) . . . .
. . . . . ὁμονοίας τὸν οἶκον ᾠκοδόμ[ησεν].

sperity may have a fall, and that God sometimes raises what is fallen down."[20] At the same time he presented a thank-offering, "because he would not neglect any precept of the law;" and bore the expenses of a large number of Nazarites, in order that they might discharge the obligation of their vow."[21]

With such acts the quondam adventurer began his new reign; and he maintained the same tone throughout the three years during which he was allowed to live and govern. There were again golden days for Pharisaism; a revival of the age of Alexandra. Hence Josephus and the Talmud are unanimous in sounding forth the praises of Agrippa. "He loved to live continually at Jerusalem, and was exactly careful in the observance of the laws of his country. He therefore kept himself entirely pure; nor did any day pass over his head without its appointed sacrifice." Thus runs the eulogistic strain of Josephus;[22] and the Talmud relates how he as a simple Israelite with his own hand presented the first-fruits in the temple.[23] And not only at home, but also abroad, he represented the interests and claims of Judaism.

[20] Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 6. 1.—The golden charms which, according to the Mishna, *Middoth* iii. 8, were hung on the curtain of the temple court, can scarcely be the same as are referred to here. See the contrary in Derenbourg, p. 209.

[21] Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 6. 1.

[22] Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 7. 3: Ἡδεῖα γοῦν αὐτῷ δίαιτα καὶ συνεχὴς ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἦν, καὶ τὰ πάτρια καθαρῶς ἐτήρει. Διὰ πάσης γοῦν αὐτὸν ἦγεν ἁγνείας, οὐδὲ ἡμέρα τις παρώδευεν αὐτῷ χηρεύουσα θυσίας.

[23] Mishna, *Bikkurim* iii. 4: When the procession with the firstlings of the fruits of the fields reached the temple mount "every one, even King Agrippa himself, took his basket upon his shoulder, and went up until he came into the court," etc.—Here, as generally throughout the rabbinical traditions, it is not, indeed, quite certain whether Agrippa I. or II. is meant.—On the ceremonial ritual in connection with the presentation of the first-fruits, see, especially, Mishna, *Bikkurim* iii. 1–9; also Philo's tract, *de festo cophini* (*Opera*, ed. Richter, v. 48–50 = Tischendorf, *Philonea*, pp. 69–71); Gratz, *Monatsschrift*, 1877, p. 433 ff., and generally the literature referred to in Div. II. vol. i. p. 238.

When on one occasion in the Phoenician city of Dora, a mob of young people erected a statue of the emperor in the Jewish synagogue, he used his influence with the governor of Syria, P. Petronius, so that not only for the future was any such outrage strictly forbidden, but also the guilty parties were called to account for their proceedings.[24] And when he betrothed his daughter Drusilla to Epiphanes, son of King Antiochus of Commagene, he made him promise that he would submit to be circumcised.[25] By such displays of piety he gave abundant satisfaction to the people who were under the guidance of the Pharisees. This was shown in a very striking manner when, at the Feast of Tabernacles in A.D. 41, according to the old custom, he read the Book of Deuteronomy,[26] and in the passage, "Thou mayest not set a stranger over thee that is not thy brother" (Deut. xvii. 15), he burst forth in tears, because he felt himself referred to in it. Then cried out the people to him, "Be not grieved, Agrippa! Thou art our brother! Thou art our brother!"[27]

[24] Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 6. 3.

[25] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 7. 1.—Epiphanes afterwards refused to fulfil his promise, and therefore the marriage was not consummated.

[26] At the close of each Sabbatical year, *i.e.* in the beginning of the eighth year, Deuteronomy had to be read at the Feast of Tabernacles (Deut. xxxi. 10 ff.; *Sota* vii. 8). Seeing, then, that the year 68–69 was a Sabbatical year (see above, vol. i. p. 41), the year 40–41 must also have been one, and, indeed, it would be the only one occurring during the period of Agrippa's reign. Accordingly, this incident took place in A.D. 41.

[27] Mishna, *Sota* vii. 8. The declaration of the people could also be vindicated in accordance with strictly Pharisaic ideas; for when the Edomites (Idumeans) went over to Judaism, their descendants in the third generation became full members and citizens of the Israelitish commonwealth (Deut. xxiii. 8, 9).—Hitzig, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 571, makes the narrative refer to Agrippa II., and Brann, *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthumus*, 1870, pp. 541–548, gives himself great trouble in order to prove that this reference is correct; whereas the majority of scholars (see the list given by Brann at p. 541) prefer Agrippa I. And this latter view is right; for a decided inclination to favour the Pharisees is far more clearly proved in the case of Agrippa I. than in that of his son.

The careful observance of Pharisaic traditions, however, does not seem to have been the only ground of his popularity. We must also allow to him a certain natural amiability. Josephus, at least, ascribes to him an amiable disposition and unbounded benevolence.[28] That he was grateful for service that had been rendered him is proved by his appointment of Silas, a faithful companion who had shared his adventures, to the supreme command of his troops.[29] He must, indeed, have had many unpleasant experiences with this Silas, for he was frequently reminded by him in a rude, rough way of his earlier troubles, and the service which he had rendered him. In order to rid himself of this troublesome prattler, Agrippa was obliged to cast him into prison. But it was a new proof of his goodheartedness that on the next celebration of his birthday he caused the prisoner to be called, so that he might share in the enjoyments of the banquet. This kindly offer, however, had no effect, for Silas would take nothing as a matter of favour, and so was obliged to remain in prison.[30] Agrippa on one occasion exhibited his clemency towards Simon the Pharisee,[31] who in the king's absence had excited a popular tumult in Jerusalem, and had charged the king with transgression of the law. Agrippa obtained information of these proceedings at Caesarea, summoned Simon to his presence, caused him to be seated alongside of himself in the theatre, and said to him in a gentle and kindly tone: "Tell me now, what was done here contrary to the law?" Over-

[28] Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 7. 3: Πραΰς ὁ τρόπος Ἀγριππᾶ, καὶ πρὸς πάντας τὸ εὐεργετικὸν ὅμοιον.

[29] Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 6. 3.

[30] Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 7. 1.

[31] Frankel, *Darke-ha-Mishna*, p. 58 sq., regards him as identical with Simon, the reputed son of Hillel and father of Gamaliel I. But the existence of this Simon is more than questionable (see Div. II. vol. i. p. 363). Besides, the chronology does not rightly fit in, since Gamaliel I. was already head of the school before the time of Agrippa (Acts v. 34).

come with shame the learned scribe could give no answer, and was dismissed by the king with presents.[32]

To a Pharisaic-national policy belonged also emancipation from a position of dependence upon Rome. And even in this direction Agrippa made, at least, two rather shy and timid attempts. In order to strengthen the fortifications of Jerusalem, the capital, he began to build on the north of the city a powerful new wall, which, according to Josephus' account, would, if it had been completed, have made the city impregnable. But, unfortunately, before the work could be carried out, the emperor, at the instigation of Marsus, the governor of Syria, issued an injunction against the continuance of it.[33] Of yet greater significance for Rome was the conference of princes assembled by Agrippa soon after this at Tiberias. No fewer than five Roman vassal kings: Antiochus of Commagene, Sampsigeram[34] of Emesa, Cotys of Lesser Armenia, Polemon of Pontus, and Herod of Chalcis, answered the invitation of Agrippa. But this enterprise also was broken up by Marsus. The Syrian governor himself put in an appearance at Tiberias, and ordered the other guests without delay to return home.[35]

[32] Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 7. 4.

[33] Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 7. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 11. 6, v. 4. 2. Compare also Derenbourg, p. 218 f. The original forbearance of the emperor toward the building of the wall seems to have been purchased by Agrippa through the bribing of the imperial councillors. Compare Tacitus, *History*, v. 12: "per avaritiam Claudianorum temporum empto jure muniendi struxere muros in pace tamquam ad bellum."

[34] Aramic שמשגרם in De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale, Inscriptions*, p. 54 (n. 75). —On an inscription at Emesa, of the Seleucid year 390 = A.D. 78–79, one Σαμσιγέραμος is referred to, probably a member of the royal family (Le Bas et Waddington, *Inscriptions*, t. iii. n. 2567. In the *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* n. 4511, the date is wanting). At a later period, too, the name Σαμσιγέραμος is found also in that region (Waddington, n. 2564, of the Seleucid year 494 = A.D. 182–183).

[35] Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 8. 1.—Compare in general, on the above-named vassal kings, the paragraphs referring thereto in Kuhn, *Die städtische und bürgerliche Verfassung des römischen Reichs*, Bd. ii.; Marquardt, *Römische*

Finally, it was a further consequence of his Jewish policy that the otherwise good-natured king should become the persecutor of the young Christian community, especially of the apostles. James the elder, son of Zebedee, was put by him to a martyr's death; and Peter escaped his hand only by the intervention of a miracle.[36]—Moreover, he was an enemy not of the Christians only. The heathen cities also within his territories hated him on account of his Jewish policy, as is proved by the unconcealed jubilation with which the news of his death was received by the Caesareans and Sebasteans.[37]

That Agrippa's Pharisaic piety was a real conviction of the heart is, in view of his earlier life, not in the least probable. He who had spent fifteen years in gaiety and debauchery is not one of whom it could be expected that in the evening of his days he should from hearty conviction assume the Pharisaic yoke. Besides this, we have the most certain proofs that the king's Jewish piety was maintained only within the limits of the Holy Land. When he went abroad he was, like his grandfather, a liberal latitudinarian patron of Greek culture. Thus, for example, Berytus had much to tell of the pagan magnificence which he there cultivated. He had erected there at his own expense a beautiful theatre, an amphitheatre, baths, and piazzas. At the opening of the building, games and sports of all sorts were performed, and among the rest in the amphitheatre there was a gladiatorial

Staatsverwaltung, Bd. i. 2 Aufl. 1881 (p. 398 f.; Commagene; p. 403 f.: Emesa; p. 369: Lesser Armenia; p. 359 f.: Pontus; p. 400 f.: Chalcis); also Lewin, *Fasti sacri*, n. 1662. On the dynasty of Commagene see especially: Mommsen, "Die Dynastie von Commagene" in *Mittheilungen des deutschen archaeologischen Institutes in Athen*, Bd. i. 1876, pp. 27–29. (See vol. i. pp. 184, 185, of the present work.) On the kings of Pontus, the treatises of Sallet and Waddington named by Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. 360, note 7. On Herod of Chalcis, see Appendix I.

[36] Acts xii. 1–19.

[37] Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 9. 1.—The Σεβαστηνοί are soldiers of Samaria (Sebaste), who lay in garrison in Caesarea. Compare above, p. 53.

combat, at which 1400 malefactors were made to slaughter one another.[38] Also at Caesarea he caused games to be performed.[39] There also statues of his daughters were erected.[40] So, too, the coins which were stamped during Agrippa's reign are in thorough agreement with the description of the state of matters now given. Only those stamped in Jerusalem had on them no image, while of those that were minted in other cities some had the image of Agrippa, others that of the emperor.[41] The official title of Agrippa is the same as that

[38] Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 7. 5.—The favour shown to Berytus is explained by the circumstance that it was a Roman colony. Compare above, vol. i. p. 430.

[39] Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 8. 2. [40] Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 9. 1.

[41] Compare on the coins of Agrippa generally: Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 491 sq.; Mionnet, *Description de médailles*, v. 567–569; Lenormant, *Trésor de Numismatique*, p. 126 sq. pl. lx. n. 3–7; Cavedoni, *Biblische Numismatik*, i. 53 f., 61–64 (ascribes all to Agrippa II.); De Saulcy, *Recherches*, p. 147 sq.; Cavedoni, *Biblische Numismatik*, ii. 35–37; Levy, *Geschichte der jüdischen Münzen*, p. 80 f.; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 103–111; De Saulcy, *Étude chronologique de la vie et des monnaies des rois juifs Agrippa I. et Agrippa II.* 1869 (compare above, vol. i. p. 27); Reichardt in the *Wiener Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Bd. iii. 1871, p. 83 ff.; Mommsen, *Wiener Num. Zeitschr.* iii. 1871, p. 449 ff.; Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1875, pp. 58–80; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881, pp. 129–139; Stickel, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Pälestina-Vereins*, vii. 1884, p. 213.—Those of most frequent occurrence among the coins of Agrippa are those without an image, with merely emblems (sunshade? and three ears of corn), which almost all have the year-number VI. and the simple inscription BACIΛEWCAΓPIΠA. They were by the older numismatists ascribed to Agrippa II., but since De Saulcy have been rightly assigned to Agrippa I., in consequence of their having been minted at Jerusalem. The existence of examples with other year-numbers (V., VII., VIII., IX.) is very questionable. Compare especially De Saulcy, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1871, p. 255: "J'ai encore recueilli un très-grand nombre de monnaies d'Agrippa au parasol, cent au moins! Toutes sans exception sont datées de l'an VI. Je persiste donc plus que jamais à me méfier des autres dates qui ont été signalées."—Besides those coins properly so called of Agrippa I., there were also stamped during his reign: (1) In Caesarea by the sea (Καισαρια η προς Σεβαστω λιμενι), coins with the image of Agrippa and the superscription Βασιλευς μεγας Αγριππας Φιλοκαισαρ. (2) In Caesarea Panias, coins with the image of Caligula and the (more or less defective) name of the emperor, or without his name. (3) In

of the other Roman vassal kings of that time. From an inscription we know that his family had been adopted into the *gens Julia*;[42] and from another that he bore the title *βασιλεὺς μέγας φιλόκαισαρ εὐσεβὴς καὶ φιλορώμαιος*.[43] From a survey of all the facts it is evident that his concessions to

Tiberias, coins with the image of Claudius, and on the reverse: *επι βασιλε. Αγριπ. Τιβεριεων.* (4) And besides these we have the coins referred to in the above, note 19, in remembrance of the "covenant" between Agrippa and the Roman people. On the so-called Agrippa coin in Anthedon, see Div. II. vol. i. pp. 73–74, and Imhoof-Blumer in Sallet's *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Bd. xiii. 1885, p. 139 f.

[42] On the inscription at Athens, *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* n. 361 = *Corpus Inscr. Atticarum*, iii. 1, n. 556, his daughter Berenice is called *Ἰουλία Βερενείκη βασίλισσα μεγάλη, Ἰουλίου Ἀγρίππα βασιλέως θυγατήρ*.—There is also evidence of other members of the Herodian family bearing the Gentile name of the Julians; by Agrippa II., from the inscription given by Le Bas et Waddington, *Inscriptions*, t. iii. n. 2112. Agrippa I. had a son-in-law called *Ἰούλιος Ἀρχέλαος* (Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 9. 1; *Against Apion*, i. 9). Probably also the *Γάϊος Ἰούλιος βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸς Ἀγρίππας ταμίας καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος τῆς Ἀσίας* (Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus, Inscriptions from the Great Theatre*, p. 50, note 5), referred to in an inscription at Ephesus, belonged to the Herodian family.—Compare, generally, on the frequent occurrence of the Gentile name of the Julians among the Roman vassal kings of the days of the empire: Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 310; Bohn, *Qua condicione juris reges socii populi Romani fuerint*, Berol. 1877, p. 25 sq. — It should be observed that the name Julius, as well as the consular rank which Agrippa enjoyed, implied the possession of Roman citizenship, which had been conferred upon the Herodian family as early as in the days of Antipater, the father of Herod the Great. See first vol. of this work, p. 378.

[43] The most complete form of the titles of Agrippa I. and Agrippa II. has been given us in the interesting inscriptions which Waddington found at Sî'a, half a league from Kanawât, on the western base of the Haurân (Le Bas et Waddington, *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines*, t. iii. n. 2365). It runs as follows:—

Ἐπὶ βασιλέως μεγάλου Ἀγριππα φιλοκαισαρος εὐσεβοῦς καὶ φιλορωμα[ί-]ου, τοῦ ἐκ βασιλέως μεγάλου Ἀγρίππα φιλοκαίσαρος εὐσεβοῦς καὶ [φι-]λορωμαίου, Ἀφαρεὺς ἀπελεύθερος καὶ Ἀγρίππας υἱὸς ἀνέθηκαν.

The titles *φιλόκαισαρ* and *φιλορώμαιος* occur very frequently during that period. Numerous examples are given in the Index of the *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* p. 165. Compare also Bohn, *Qua condicione juris reges*, p. 14.—Most precisely and perfectly in accordance with the titles of the two Agrippas are those of King Sauromates of Bosporus, *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* n. 2123 and 2124: *βασιλέα βασιλέων μέγαν Τιβέριον Ἰούλιον Σαυρο-*

Pharisaism were purely matters of policy. Upon the whole he was a careful imitator of the old Herod, "only milder in disposition and somewhat more sly."[44] Yet even the grandfather felt himself obliged to make concessions to the Pharisees. Agrippa was in this matter only consistently following out his general lines of policy, for he very well knew that the peace which he loved could be secured in no other way.

The country did not long enjoy his rule. After he had reigned little more than three years, if we reckon from A.D. 41, he died at Caesarea very suddenly in A.D. 44.[45] The two accounts of his death which we have, in Acts xii. 19–23, and Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 8. 2, with many variations, are yet

μάτην Φιλοκαίσαρα καὶ Φιλορώμαιον εὐσεβῆ. Compare also, in reference to him, Wilmanns, *Exempla Inscr. Lat.* n. 2689.

[44] Keim in Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*, iii. 55.

[45] The date of Agrippa's death is discussed in the most complete manner by Wieseler, *Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters*, pp. 129–136. Agrippa died after he had reigned three full years over all Palestine (Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 8. 2: τρίτον δὲ ἔτος αὐτῷ βασιλεύοντι τῆς ὅλης Ἰουδαίας πεπλήρωτο), consequently in A.D. 44, and indeed, soon after the feast of the Passover (Acts xii. 3 ff.), while the games were being celebrated at Caesarea in honour of the emperor (εἰς τὴν Καίσαρος τιμήν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου σωτηρίας, Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 8. 2). By these games Wieseler understands those regular wrestling matches at Caesarea founded by Herod the Great, which were celebrated every fourth year. Upon the hypothesis, therefore, that they began on the 12th August, he places the death of Agrippa on the 6th August. But this hypothesis that the games began on 1st August is quite an arbitrary assumption. Indeed, the words of Josephus (ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου σωτηρίας) plainly show that no regular games are here intended, but some extraordinary entertainments, and point to games which were celebrated at Rome in honour of Claudius' return from Britain in the spring of A.D. 44 (Dio Cassius, lx. 23), and afterwards also in the provinces. Such also is the opinion of Anger, *De temporum in act. ap. ratione*, p. 40; Hausrath, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, 2 Aufl. ii. 278 f.; Lewin, *Fasti sacri*, p. 279 sq. n. 1674. The regular games of Caesarea celebrated every fourth, not every fifth year (see vol. i. of present work, p. 439), would come round, not in A.D. 44, but in A.D. 43, since, according to Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 5. 1, they were instituted in the 28th year of Herod = A.U.C. 744, and so would come round in A.U.C. 796 = A.D. 43.

in thorough and detailed agreement on the principal points.[46] The Acts of the Apostles relates that in Caesarea, sitting on the judgment-seat (*βῆμα*) dressed in his royal robes, he delivered an oration to the ambassadors representing the citizens of Tyre and Sidon, with whom, we know not why, he had been displeased. While he was speaking the people called out: It is the voice of a god, and not of a man. Immediately the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory; and he was eaten up of worms, and gave up the ghost. According to Josephus, he was present at Caesarea while games were being celebrated there in honour of the emperor. On the second day he appeared in the theatre in a robe which was made wholly of silver. When the robe sparkled in the sun, the flatterers cried out to him declaring that he was a god (*θεὸν προσαγορεύοντες*), and entreating that he would have mercy upon them. The king allowed himself to be carried away by their flattery. Soon thereafter he saw an owl sitting upon a rope, which at once he accepted as a presage of a speedy death.[47] He then knew that his hour had come. Immediately a most severe pain arose in his bowels. He had to be carried into the house, and in five days was a corpse.—It thus appears that the principal points: Caeserea as the scene of the incident, the brilliant robe, the flattering shout, the sudden death—are common to both narratives, although the details have been somewhat diversified in the course of transmission.

Agrippa left, besides his three daughters (Berenice,

[46] The rendering of the story of Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* ii. 10, is in all essential points in thorough agreement with that of Acts and Josephus, although he changes the owl of Josephus into an angel. Compare also Ranisch, *De Lucae et Josephi in morte Herodis Agrippae consensu.*, Lips. 1745. In recent times: Gerlach, *Zeitschrift für luth. Theologie*, 1869, pp. 57–62.—On the changing of the owl into an angel, Heinichen, *Eusebii Scripta historica*, iii. 654–656.

[47] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 7.—On the owl as a bird of evil omen, see Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* x. 12. 34–35.

Mariamme, and Drusilla), only one son, then in his seventeenth year, whose name also was Agrippa. The Emperor Claudius had been disposed to give over to him the kingdom of his father; but his advisers restrained him from carrying out his intentions. And so again the whole of Palestine, as formerly Judea and Samaria had been, was taken possession of as Roman territory, and its administration given over to a procurator under the supervision of the governor of Syria.[48] The younger Agrippa continued meanwhile to live in retirement.

[48] Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 9. 1–2; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 11. 6.—Bormann (*De Syriae provinciae Romanae partibus capita nonnulla*, 1865, pp. 3–5) assumes that Palestine during the period A.D. 44–49 was administered by a procurator independent of the legate of Syria; but in A.D. 49 was attached to the province of Syria, because, forsooth, Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 23, begins his narrative of the events of the year 49 with the words: "Ituraei et Judaei defunctis regibus, Sohaemo atque Agrippa, provinciae Suriae additi." But it is evident that the narrative of Tacitus is very summary, and brings together things that in point of time lay quite apart from one another. Hence such a conclusion cannot be based upon his statement. Just in A.D. 44 or A.D. 45, immediately after the death of Agrippa I., the legate of Syria, Cassius Longinus, did interfere in the affairs of Judea. The independence of the procurator of Judea was therefore no greater then than it was subsequently, and it was subsequently no less than it was then. Compare generally above, p. 47; and especially against Bormann, Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Bd. i. 2 Aufl. 1881; p. 411, note 11.

§ 19. THE ROMAN PROCURATORS, A.D. 44–66.

SOURCES.

JOSEPHUS, *Antiq.* xx. 1 and 5–11; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 11–14. ZONARAS, *Annales*, vi. 12–17 (summary from Josephus).

LITERATURE.

EWALD, *History of Israel*, vii. 412–426, 479–485.

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SCHNECKENBURGER, *Zeitgeschichte*, pp. 215–224.

HAUSRATH, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, 2 Aufl. ii. 362 ff., iii. 331–374, 423–426.

LEWIN, *Fasti sacri*, 1865, *ad. ann.* 44–46.

GERLACH, *Die Römischen Statthalter in Syrien und Judäa*, 1865, p. 67 ff.

GRÄTZ, "Chronologische Präcisirung der Reihenfolge der letzten römischen Landpfleger in Judäa," etc. (*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*), 1877, pp. 401 ff., 443 ff.). Compare, *Geschichte der Juden*, 4 Aufl. iii. p. 724 ff., where the treatise from the *Monatsschrift* is almost entirely reproduced.

ROHDEN, *De Palaestina et Arabia provinciis Romanis quaestiones selectae*, Berol. 1885, pp. 34–36.

KELLNER, "Die römischen Statthalter von Syrien und Judäa zur Zeit Christi und der Apostel." Zweiter Artikel. "Die kaiserlichen Procuratoren von Judäa" (*Zeitschrift für katholischen Theologie*, 1888, p. 630 ff.).

MENKE'S *Bibelatlas*, Bl. V. Special Map of "Judea and neighbouring countries in the time of Felix and Festus."

WHEN we glance over the history of the Roman procurators, to whom once more the government of Palestine was entrusted, we might readily suppose that all of them, as if by secret arrangement, so conducted themselves as most certainly to arouse the people to revolt. Even the best among them,

to say nothing at all of the others who trampled right and law under foot, had no appreciation of the fact that a people like the Jews required, in a permanent degree, consideration for their prejudices and peculiarities. Instead of exercising mildness and toleration, they had only applied themselves with inexorable strictness to suppress any movement of the popular life.—As compared with those who followed, the words of Josephus are true regarding the first two procurators, that, "making no alterations of the ancient laws and customs, they kept the nation in tranquillity."[1]

1. The first procurator whom Claudius sent to Palestine was Cuspius Fadus (A.D. 44—?).[2] Immediately after he had entered upon his office he had an opportunity for affirming his determination to maintain order. When he arrived in Palestine the inhabitants of Perea were in a state of open war with the city of Philadelphia.[3] The conflict had arisen over disputes about the boundaries of their respective territories. Inasmuch as the Pereans were the parties at fault, Fadus caused one of the three leaders of the party to be executed and the other two to be banished from the country.—But that Fadus with all his uprightness and love of justice had no appreciation of the peculiar characteristics of the Jewish people, is proved by his demand that the beautiful robe of the high priest, which in earlier times, A.D. 6–36, had laid under Roman keeping, and had been afterwards given up by Vitellius (see above, p. 88), should again be committed to the charge of the Romans.[4] Thus, without any occasion whatever, by petty annoyances, the feelings of the people, which were most sensitive in matters of this sort, were outraged. Fortunately, Fadus and the governor of Syria, Cassius Longinus, who on account of this important affair had

[1] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 11. 6. [2] Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 9. 2.
[3] On Philadelphia, see Div. II. vol. i. pp. 119–121.
[4] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 1. 1.

gone up to Jerusalem, were considerate enough as to at least allow a Jewish embassy to proceed to Rome, which by the mediation of the younger Agrippa obtained an order from Claudius that in the matter of the garments things should continue as they had been.[5]

More serious than this conflict was one which occurred at a later period, and led to open war and shedding of blood. One who pretended to be a prophet, Theudas by name, gathered a large multitude of followers after him, with whom he marched down to the Jordan, giving them the assurance that he by his mere word would part the stream and lead them across on dry land. This, indeed, was only to be a proof of his divine mission, and what he had mainly in view, the contest with Rome, would follow. At any rate this was how the matter was regarded by Fadus. He sent a detachment of horsemen against Theudas, which completely defeated him and slew a portion of his followers or took them prisoners; and when Theudas himself had been apprehended, they struck off his head and carried it to Jerusalem as a sign of their victory.[6]

[5] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 1. 1–2. Compare xv. 11. 4.—The rescript of Claudius to the officials of Jerusalem, in which this decision of the emperor is communicated to them (Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 1. 2), bears date of 28th June A.D. 45, *Claud. tribunic. potest.* V., in the consulship of Rufus and Pompeius Silvanus. On these *Consules suffecti*, see Klein, *Fasti consulares*, p. 33.—Compare also: Kindlmann, "Utrum litterae, quae ad Claudium Tiberium imperatorem apud Josephum referuntur, ad eum referendae sint necne, quaeritur. Mährisch-Neustadt, *Progr.* 1884. This treatise I have had no opportunity of examining.

[6] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 5. 1 = Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* ii. 11.—The name Theudas is met with also elsewhere (*Corp. Inscr. Graec.* n. 2684, 3563, 3920, 5698; Wetstein, *Nov. Test.* on Acts v. 36; Pape-Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griech. Eigennamen, s.v.*). Θευδᾶς is a contraction for Θεοδόσιος, Θεόδοτος, Θεόδωρος, or such like name derived from θεός. The contraction for εο into ευ is very frequent in proper names connected with θεός and κλέος. Even in rabbinical works we find תודוס (Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chaldaicum*, col. 2565 sq.; Lightfoot, *Opera*, ii. 704; Schoettgen, *Horae hebraicae*, i. 423). But the name of the physician תידוס, Mishna, *Bechoroth* iv. 4, reads according to the best manuscripts תודרוס (as in the Cambridge

2. The successor of Fadus was Tiberius Alexander, down to A.D. 48, descended from one of the most illustrious Jewish families of Alexandria, a son of the Alabarch Alexander, and nephew of the philosopher Philo.[7] He had abandoned the religion of his fathers and taken service under the Romans. During the period of his government Palestine was visited by a sore famine.[8] The one fact of any importance that is

manuscript and *cod. de Rossi*, 138).—Our rebel chief Theudas is well known from the reference made to him in Acts v. 36, where the allusion to him occurs in a speech of Gamaliel delivered a considerable time before the actual appearance of Theudas. Indeed, according to the representation of the narrative of the Acts, the appearance of Theudas is placed before that of Judas of Galilee in A.D. 6. But as many are unwilling that so serious an error should be attributed to the author of the Acts of the Apostles, several theologians have assumed the existence of two different rebels of the name of Theudas. But such an assumption is not justified in consideration of the slight authority of the Acts in such matters. Compare on the *pro* and *con* of this controversy: Sonntag, "Theudas der Anführer" (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1837, p. 622 ff.); Zuschlag, *Theudas, Anführer eines* 750 *R. in Palästina erregten Aufstandes*, Cassel 1849; Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis*, p. 90 f.; *Beiträge zur richtigen Würdigung der Evangelien*, p. 101 ff.; Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, ii. 609 f.; Keim in Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*, v. 510–513; Köhler in Herzog, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 1 Aufl. xvi. 39–41; K. Schmidt in Herzog, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 2 Aufl. xv. 553–557; Zeller, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 1854, pp. 132–137; Lewin, *Fasti sacri*, n. 903, 933, 1469. The Commentaries on Acts by Kuinoel, De Wette, Meyer, Overbeck, Wendt, Nösgen, and others. The older literature is given in Wolf, *Curae philol. in Nov. Test.* on Acts v. 36.

[7] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 5. 2, xviii. 8. 1.—On the office of Alabarch, see Div. II. vol. ii. pp. 280, 281.

[8] Compare in regard to this famine, besides *Antiq.* xx. 5. 2, also *Antiq.* iii. 15. 3, xx. 2. 6; Acts xi. 28–30; Anger, *De temporum in actis apostolorum ratione* (1833), pp. 41–49; Wieseler, *Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters*, pp. 156–161; Karl Schmidt, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, Bd. i. 1882, pp. 157–164.—Josephus refers the famine to the time of Tiberius Alexander, but states that it had its beginning in the days of his predecessor: ἐπὶ τούτοις δὴ καὶ τὸν μέγαν λιμὸν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν συνέβη γενέσθαι. The reading ἐπὶ τούτοις is confirmed by Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* ii. 12. 1. In the connection in which it occurs, however, it is certainly not to be rendered *propter haec* (as Credner, *Einleitung*, p. 330, does), nor even by *ad haec* nor *post haec* (as Keim does in his *Aus dem Urchristenthum*, p. 19, note), but by *horum temporibus*. On this incorrect use of ἐπί with the dative instead

recorded about him is that he caused James and Simon, the sons of Judas of Galilee, to be crucified, ostensibly because they were entertaining schemes similar to those of their father.[9]

of the genitive, see Wahl, *Clavis librorum V. T. apocryph. s.v.* ἐπί. The narrative of the Acts is in agreement with this when it refers the famine to somewhere about the time of Agrippa's death in A.D. 44.—In all the three passages Josephus names Judea only as the district affected by the famine (xx. 5. 2: τὴν Ἰουδαίαν; iii. 15. 3: τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν; xx. 2. 6: τὴν πόλιν). The author of the Acts of the Apostles describes it as extending over the whole world (xi. 28: ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην), which is a generalization quite as unhistorical as that about the census of Quirinius. Certainly the reign of Claudius had been remarked by *assiduae sterilitates* (Suetonius, *Claudius*, 18). Besides the famine that occurred in Palestine we are told of the following: (1) A famine in Rome in the beginning of his reign (Dio Cassius, lx. 11; Aurel., *Victor Caesar*, 4; Coins in Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* vi. 238 sq.); (2) Another famine in Greece in the 8th or 9th year of his reign (Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 152 sq., in the Armenian and according to Jerome); and (3) yet another famine in Rome in the 11th year of his reign, according to Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 43, or according to Eusebius, *Chronicon*, in the 10th or 9th year; Orosius also, vii. 6. 17, giving the 10th year as the date. But a famine that extended over the whole world is as improbable in itself as it is unsupported by the statement of any authority.

[9] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 5. 2.—Tiberius Alexander served at a late period under Corbulo against the Parthians (Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 28), was then made governor of Egypt (Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 15. 1, 18. 7, iv. 10. 6; Tacitus, *History*, i. 11, ii. 74, 79; Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 6), and was the most distinguished and trusted counsellor of Titus at the siege of Jerusalem (*Wars of the Jews*, v. 1. 6, vi. 4. 3). His full name is given in an edict which he issued as governor of Egypt: "Tiberius Julius Alexander" (*Corpus Inscr. Graec.* n. 4957).—The conjecture of Bernays, that it is to him that the pseudo-Aristotelian treatise περὶ κόσμου is dedicated, is highly improbable, although it has been accepted as an established fact by Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 494, 566. According to Zeller, that work is actually a production of Aristotle, and he to whom it is dedicated is Alexander the Great. See the literature given above in vol. i. p. 63.—On Tiberius Alexander compare generally: Rudorff, "Das Edict des Tiberius Julius Alexander" (*Rhein Museum*, 1828, pp. 64–84, 133–190); Franz, *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* n. 4957; Haakh in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, vi. 2 (1852), p. 1943 f.; Renier in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, t. xxvi. 1 (1867), pp. 294–302; Lumbroso, *Recherches sur l'économie politique de l'Égypte sous les Lagides* (Turin 1870), p. 216 sq.—The family of Tiberius Alexander continued

Although even the days of those first procurators did not pass without troubles and upheaval, these came to be regarded as altogether insignificant in comparison with the excitement and turmoil that followed. Even under the governorship of the next procurator Cumanus popular tumults, not without faults on both sides, broke out in far more formidable proportions.

3. The first rebellion against which Ventidius Cumanus, A.D. 48–52,[10] had to contend was occasioned by the coarse insolence of a Roman soldier. This man had the presumption at the feast of the Passover, when to maintain order and preserve the peace a detachment of soldiers was always situated in the court of the temple,[11] to insult the festive gathering by assuming an indecent posture. The enraged multitude demanded satisfaction from the procurator. As Cumanus, however, attempted first of all to hush up the

also in later times in the service of the Romans. A Julius Alexander, perhaps a son or grandson of the one of whom we have been speaking, served as legate under Trajan in the Parthian war (Dio Cassius, lxviii. 30), was consul in A.D. 117, and member of the priestly College of the Arvales, A.D. 118–119. The Acts of the Arvales give his full name as Tiberius Julius Alexander Julianus (*Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. vi. n. 2078, 2079; compare also, Henzen, *Acta fratrum Arvalium*, Index, p. 188). One Τιβέριος Ἰούλιος Ἀλέξανδρος, commander of *cohors I Flavia* and agoranomos over the second city district of Alexandria, in the 21st year of Antoninus Pius, erected a statue to the great goddess Isis (*Annali dell' Instituto di corrisp. archeolog.* 1875, p. 15).

[10] Ventidius, according to Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 54; in Josephus called only Cumanus.—The date of Cumanus' entrance upon office may be discovered, though only approximately, from this, that Josephus at the same time reports the death of Herod of Chalcis in the 8th year of Claudius = A.D. 48 (*Antiq.* xx. 5. 2). Without sufficient ground Wieseler, *Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters*, pp. 68, 126 f., fixes the date of Cumanus' entrance upon his office as late as A.D. 50; whereas, on the other hand, Anger, *De temporum in actis apostolorum ratione*, p. 44; Gerlach, *Die römische Statthalter*, p. 71; Ewald, *History of Israel*, vii. 415; Hitzig, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 589; Lewin, *Fasti sacri*, n. 1719; Grätz, *Monatsschrift*, 1877, pp. 402–408 = *Geschichte der Juden*, 4 Aufl. iii. pp. 725–728; Rohden, *De Palaestina*, p. 35, assume the date A.D. 48.

[11] Compare *Wars of the Jews*, v. 5. 8; *Antiq.* xx. 8. 11.

matter, he too was assailed with reproachful speeches, until at length he called for the intervention of the armed forces. The excited crowds were utterly routed; and their overthrow was so complete that, according to Josephus' estimate, in the crush which took place in the streets in consequence of their flight, 20,000 (!) men lost their lives.[12]

The fault in this case lay with the Romans, but in the next upheaval the occasion was given by the Jewish people themselves. An imperial official called Stephanus was attacked on a public road not far from Jerusalem, and robbed of all his belongings. As a punishment for this the villages which lay in the neighbourhood of the spot where the deed was committed were subjected to a general pillage. It was through a pure mischance that out of this pillage further mischief was very nearly occasioned; for a soldier, before the eyes of all, amid contumelious and reproachful speeches tore up a Thorah roll which he had found. In order to obtain revenge and satisfaction for such profanity, a mass deputation visited Cumanus at Caesarea, demanding the punishment of the offender. This time the procurator saw it to be advisable to give way, and so sentenced the offender to be put to death.[13]

Far more bitter and bloody was a third collision with the people under Cumanus, which though it did not indeed cost him his life, yet led to his loss of office. Certain Galilean Jews, who on their way to the feast at Jerusalem had to pass through Samaria, had been murdered in a Samaritan village. When Cumanus, who had been bribed by the Samaritans, took no steps to secure the punishment of the guilty, the Jewish people took upon themselves the duty of revenge. Under the leadership of two Zealots, Eleasar and Alexander, a great multitude of armed men made an attack upon

[12] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 5. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 1.
[13] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 5. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 2.

Samaria, hewed down old men, women, and children, and laid waste the villages. But then Cumanus with a portion of his military force fell upon the Zealots; many were slain, others were taken prisoners. Meanwhile ambassadors from the Samaritans appeared before Ummidius Quadratus, governor of Syria, and lodged a complaint with him about the robber raid of the Jews. At the same time, however, a Jewish embassy also came to Quadratus, and accused the Samaritans and Cumanus, who had accepted bribe from them. Quadratus, therefore, went himself to Samaria and made a strict investigation. All the revolutionists taken prisoners by Cumanus were crucified; five Jews, who were proved to have taken a prominent part in the struggle, were beheaded; but the ringleaders both of the Jews and of the Samaritans were sent along with Cumanus to Rome in order to answer for their conduct there. The Jews were indebted to the intercession of the younger Agrippa, who happened then to be in Rome, for their success in their securing their rights. The decision of Claudius was to this effect, that the ringleaders of the Samaritans, who had been discovered by him to be the guilty parties, should be executed, while Cumanus was to be deprived of his office and sent into banishment.[14]

[14] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 6. 1–3; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 3–7.—There is a divergence in regard to essential points between this representation of Josephus and that given by Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 54. According to the Roman historian, Cumanus was only procurator of Galilee, while during the same period Felix had the administration of Samaria, and indeed of Judea also (Felix . . . jam pridem Judaeae impositus . . . aemulo ad deterrima Ventidio Cumano, cui pars provinciae habebatur, ita divisae, ut huic Galilaeorum natio, Felici Samaritae parerent). Felix and Cumanus were equally to blame for the bloody conflicts that took place. But Quadratus condemned only Cumanus, and even allowed Felix to take part in the trial as judge.—It is really impossible to do away with the contradiction between Tacitus and Josephus; for Josephus leaves no doubt of this, that, according to his understanding of the matter, Cumanus was the only governor in the territory of the Jews, and that Felix only went to Palestine as his successor. Compare especially the definite state-

4. At the request of the high priest Jonathan, one of the Jewish aristocracy whom Quadratus had sent to Rome,[15] the Emperor Claudius transferred the administration of Palestine to one of his favourites, the brother of the influential Pallas, whose name was Felix (A.D. 52–60).[16] This man's term of office constitutes probably the turning-point in the drama which had opened with A.D. 44 and reached its close in the bloody conflicts of A.D. 70. During the days of the first two

ment that the high priest Jonathan, who was in Rome at the time of the deposition of Cumanus, had besought the emperor that he should send Felix (see note 15). But it seems a matter scarcely to be questioned that the very detailed narrative of Josephus deserves to be preferred to the indeterminate remarks made by Tacitus. So also thinks Wurm, *Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie*, 1833, 1 Heft, pp. 14–21; Anger, *De temporum in actis apostolorum ratione*, pp. 88–90; Wieseler, *Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters*, p. 67; Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, art. "Felix;" Lewin, *Fasti sacri*, n. 1777.—In favour essentially of Tacitus: Nipperdey, *Anmerkungen zu Tacitus Annales*, xii. 54; Grätz, *Monatsschrift*, 1877, p. 403 ff. = *Geschichte der Juden*, Bd. iii. 4 Aufl. pp. 725–728; Rohden, *De Palaestina et Arabia*, p. 35; Kellner, *Zeitschrift für katholischen Theologie*, 1888, p. 639 f.

[15] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 6. Compare *Antiq.* xx. 8. 5: Αἰτησάμενος ἐκεῖνον παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος πεμφθῆναι τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπίτροπον.

[16] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 7. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 8; Suetonius, *Claudius*, 28.—That Felix entered upon his office in A.D. 52 is probable for this reason, that Josephus immediately after making that statement mentions that Claudius after the completion of his twelfth year (τῆς ἀρχῆς δωδέκατον ἔτος ἤδη πεπληρωκώς), *i.e.* after the 24th January A.D. 53, bestowed upon Agrippa II., Batanea and Trachonitis (*Antiq.* xx. 7. 1). This indeed leaves the year 53 open as a possible date, which some actually adopt. But in favour of 52 is the fact that Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 54, relates the deposition of Cumanus among the events of this year; no doubt with the assumption that Felix had been already before this, contemporary with Cumanus, carrying on the government of a portion of Palestine. Although, indeed, this assumption can scarcely be regarded as correct (see note 14), yet the year 52 must be firmly adhered to as the time of the deposition of Cumanus.

Compare on Felix generally: C. W. F. Walch, *De Felice, Judaeae procuratore*, Jenae 1747; Haakh in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, iii. 443 f.; Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, i. 368 f.; Paret in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 1 Aufl. iv. 354 f.; K. Schmidt, *Herzog*, 2 Aufl. iv. 518 f.; Kellner in Wetzer and Welte's *Kirchenlexikon*, 2 Aufl. iv. 1311 ff.; Overbeck in Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*, ii. 263 ff.

procurators things had continued relatively quiet; under Cumanus, indeed, there were more serious uprisings of the people; yet even then they were only isolated and called forth by particular occurrences; under Felix rebellion became permanent.

He was, like his brother Pallas, a freedman of the imperial family,[17]—a freedman probably of Antonia the mother of Claudius, and having therefore as his full name, Antonius Felix.[18] The conferring of a procuratorship with military command upon a freedman was something unheard of, and is only to be accounted for by the influence which the freedmen had at the court of Claudius.[19] As procurator of Palestine

[17] Tacitus, *History*, v. 9; Suetonius, *Claudius*, 28.

[18] Antonius Felix, according to Tacitus, *History*, v. 9.—This name and the circumstance that Pallas, the brother of Felix, was a freedman of Antonia (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 6), favours the hypothesis that Felix also was a freedman, not of Claudius, but of his mother Antonia (see Nipperdey on Tacitus, *Annals*, xi. 29 and xii. 54).—That Felix also bore the name Claudius (so *e.g.* Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, art. "Felix," and Rohden, *De Palaestinâ et Arabia*, p. 35) cannot be proved from the original documents; for in Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 7. 1, as well as in Suidas, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Κλαύδιος, instead of Κλαυδίου Φήλικα we should read Κλαύδιος Φήλικα (*scil.* πέμψει, *resp.* ἐπέστησεν). The reading of the manuscript in the Suidas passage is indeed Κλαυδίου; but the conjecture Κλαύδιος is rightly favoured by Bernhardy, and has been adopted by Bekker into the text. Compare in general on the name of Felix, Walch, *De Felice*, pp. 2–7.

[19] Suetonius, *Claudius*, 28, gives prominence to it as something unusual: "Felicem, quem cohortibus et alis provinciaeque Judaeae praeposuit." Compare in addition, Hirschfeld, *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1889, p. 423.—Besides the freedman it is well known that in the latter years of the reign of Claudius, A.D. 49–54, his wife Agrippina also exercised an unwholesome influence. The Palestinian coins also of the 13th and 14th years of Claudius afford evidence of his powerful influence, since on them her name (Ἰουλία Ἀγριππινα) appears alongside of that of her husband (Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 498; Mionnet, *Description de médailles*, v. 554; Cavedoni, *Biblische Numismatik*, i. 66, ii. 52; De Saulcy, *Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaïque*, p. 149; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, p. 151 sq.; De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, p. 76 sq.; Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1875, p. 190 sq.; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 184 sq.; Stickel, *Zeitschrift des deutschen*

Felix proved worthy of his descent. "With all manner of cruelty and lust he exercised royal functions in the spirit of a slave;" in these words Tacitus sums up his estimate of the man.[20]

Felix was three times married. All the three wives, of whom two are known to us, belonged to royal families.[21] The one was a granddaughter of the triumvir Marc Antony and Cleopatra, and by this marriage Felix was brought into relationship with the Emperor Claudius.[22] The other was the Jewish princess Drusilla, the daughter of Agrippa I. and sister of Agrippa II.; and the way in which the marriage with her was brought about serves to confirm the estimate of Tacitus quoted above. Drusilla at the time when Felix entered upon his office was fourteen years of age.[23] Soon after this she was married by her brother Agrippa II. to Azizus, king of Emesa, after the marriage with the son of King Antiochus of Commagene, to whom she had been before betrothed, had been broken off because he refused to submit to circumcision.[24] Soon after her marriage Felix saw the

Palästina-Vereins, vii. 1884, p. 213).—Probably also a town on the east of the Jordan is named after her, namely, one lying between the Mount Sartaba and the Hauran: Agrippina, אגריפינא. This is the reading of the Mishna, *Rosh-Hashana* ii. 4, according to the Cambridge manuscript edited by Lowe. A Hamburg manuscript and the *editio princeps* have *Agropina;* the Jerusalem Talmud and the *cod. de Rossi*, 138: *Gripina;* the common printed text: *Gropina.* The place is named only in that one passage in the Mishna. The Greek form would be Αγριππινας, after the pattern of Τιβεριας from טבריא.

[20] *History*, v. 9: "per omnem saevitiam ac libidinem jus regium servili ingenio exercuit."

[21] Suetonius, *Claudius*, 28, calls him *trium reginarum maritum.*

[22] Tacitus, *History*, v. 9: "Drusilla Cleopatrae et Antonii nepte in matrimonium accepta, ut ejusdem Antonii Felix progener, Claudius nepos esset."—The name Drusilla is introduced through a confusion with the other wife of Felix.

[23] As appears evidently from *Antiq.* xix. 9. 1, according to which Drusilla, the youngest of the daughters of Agrippa I., was six years old at the time of his death.

[24] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 7. 1.

beautiful queen, became inflamed with passion, and determined to possess her. By the help of a magician of Cyprus called Simon, he prevailed on her to marry him. In defiance of the law, which strictly forbade the marriage of a Jewess with a pagan, Drusilla gave her hand to the Roman procurator.[25]

The public career of Felix was no better than his private life. As brother of the powerful and highly favoured Pallas, "he believed that he might commit all sorts of enormities with impunity."[26]—It can be easily understood how under such a government as this the bitter feeling against Rome grew rapidly, and the various stages of its development were plainly carried out to the utmost extent under Felix and by his fault.[27]

First of all, on account of his misgovernment the Zealots, who entertained so fanatical a hatred of the Romans, won more and more sympathy among the ranks of the citizens. How far Josephus had grounds for styling them simply robbers may remain undetermined. In any case, as their following from among the people shows, they were not robbers of the common sort; and their pillaging was confined wholly to the property of their political opponents. Felix, who was not very scrupulous about the means he used, contrived to get Eleasar, the head of the party, into his

[25] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 7. 2. Compare Acts of the Apostles xxiv. 24. Since Azizus died in the first year of Nero (*Antiq.* xx. 8. 4), the marriage with Felix must have taken place in the time of Claudius, in A.D. 53 or 54. Compare Wieseler, *Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters*, p. 80 f.—Drusilla bore a son to Felix called Agrippa, who, "together with his wife" (*σὺν τῇ γυναικί*, it is certainly not Drusilla, but the wife of Agrippa that is meant), perished in an irruption of Vesuvius (*Antiq.* xx. 7. 2).—Compare on Drusilla, besides the articles in Winer, Herzog, and Schenkel, also Gerlach, *Zeitschrift für luth. Theologie*, 1869, p. 68 f.

[26] Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 54: "Cuncta malefacta sibi impune ratus tanta potentia subnixo."

[27] This appears most distinctly from the account given in *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 13. 2–6, which is much more lucid and clear than that given in the *Antiq.* xx. 8. 5–6.

hands by means of treachery, and sent him, together with those of his adherents whom he had already in prison, to Rome. "But the number of the robbers whom he caused to be crucified was incalculable, as also that of the citizens whom he arrested and punished as having been in league with them."[28]

Such preposterous severity and cruelty only gave occasion to still further troubles.[29] In the place of the robbers of whom Felix had rid the country, the Sicarii made their appearance, a still more fanatical faction of the patriots, who deliberately adopted as their special task the removal of their political opponents by assassination. Armed with short daggers (*sicae*), from which they received their name,[30] they mixed among the crowds especially during the festival seasons, and unobserved in the press stabbed their opponents (*τοὺς διαφόρους, i.e.* the friends of the Romans), and feigning deep sorrow when the deed was done, succeeded in thereby drawing away suspicion from themselves. These political murders were so frequent that soon no one any longer felt safe in Jerusalem. Among others who fell victims to the daggers of the Sicarii was Jonathan the high priest, who, as a man of moderate sentiments, was hated by the Sicarii as well as by the procurator Felix, whom he often exhorted to act more worthily in the administration of his office, lest he (Jonathan) should be blamed by the people for having recommended the emperor to appoint him governor. Felix wished to have the troublesome exhorter put out of the way, and found that this could be most simply accomplished by means of assassination, to which the Sicarii, although otherwise the deadly foes of Felix, readily lent themselves.[31]

[28] *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 13. 2; *Antiq.* xx. 8. 5.

[29] Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 54: "intempestivis remediis delicta accendebat."

[30] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 8. 10.

[31] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 13. 3; *Antiq.* xx. 8. 5.—The Sicarii

With these political fanatics there were associated religious fanatics "not so impure in their deeds, but still more wicked in their intentions." Advancing the claim of a divine mission, they roused the people to a wild enthusiasm, and led the credulous multitude in crowds out into the wilderness, in order that there they might show them "the tokens foreshadowing freedom" (*σημεῖα ἐλευθερίας*)—that freedom which consisted in casting off the Roman yoke and setting up the kingdom of God, or, to use the language of Josephus, in innovation and revolution. Since religious fanaticism is

are also referred to during the war, when they had in their possession the fortress of Masada. See *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 17. 6, iv. 7. 2, 9. 5, vii. 8. 1 ff., 10. 1, 11. 1. The author of the Acts of the Apostles was also aware of their existence as a political party (Acts xxi. 38 : *τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους ἄνδρας τῶν σικαρίων*).—In Latin *sicarius* is the common designation for a murderer. Thus, for example, the law passed under Sulla against murderers is called "lex Cornelia de Sicariis" (Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, iv. 969, and generally the article "Sicarius" in the same *Encyclopaedie*, vi. 1. 1153 f.). It also occurs in the Mishna in this same general sense : *Bikkurim* i. 2, ii. 3 ; *Gittin* v. 6 ; *Machshirin* i. 6. In none of these passages is the term *Sicarii* used to designate a political party. In the passage *Machshirin* i. 6 the story told is this, that on one occasion the inhabitants of Jerusalem hid their fig-cakes in water from fear of the סיקריים. In the other passages a case is supposed in which a robber-murderer has violently appropriated to himself a piece of land. It is asked what is to be done in this case with reference to the taxes (*Bikkurim* i. 2, ii. 3), and whether one would be able by process of law to buy from the robber-murderer such a piece of land (*Gittin* v. 6). In reference to this last point it is said that since the war, which here clearly means the war of Hadrian, it had been decreed that the purchase would be valid only when the property had been first obtained from the lawful possessors and then from the robber who had taken it by force, but not when it had been bought first from the robber and then from the legal owners. Here we are to understand by the *Sicarii* rather non-Jewish than Jewish robber-murderers. Compare generally : Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iv. 422 f., who wrongly makes the *Sicarii* a Jewish political party ; Derenbourg, *Historie de la Palestine*, pp. 280, 475 sqq. ; Levy, *Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, iii. 518.—The correct form סיקריים = *sicarii*, is found in *Machshirin* i. 6 (*e.g.* in the Cambridge manuscript edited by Lowe). But it is deserving of remark that in the other passages the best texts, *e.g.* the Cambridge manuscript, constantly have סיקריקון, *sicaricon*, and that indeed as a mas. sing. = "the murderer."

always the most powerful and the most persistent, Josephus is certainly right when he says that those fanatics and deceivers contributed no less than the "robbers" to the overthrow of the city. Felix also recognised clearly enough the dangerous tendency of the movement, and invariably broke in upon all such undertakings with the sword.[32]—The most celebrated enterprise of this sort was the exploit of that Egyptian to whom Acts xxi. 38 refers. An Egyptian Jew who gave himself out for a prophet, gathered around him in the wilderness a great crowd of people, numbering, according to Acts, 4000, according to Josephus, 30,000, with whom he wished to ascend the Mount of Olives, because he promised that at his word the walls of Jerusalem would fall down and give them free entrance into the city. Then they would get the Roman garrison into their power and secure to themselves the government. Felix did not give the prophet time to perform his miracle, but attacked him with his troops, slew and scattered his followers or took them prisoners. But the Egyptian himself escaped from the slaughter and disappeared.[33]

The result of this unfortunate undertaking was temporary strengthening of the anti-Roman party. The religious and the political fanatics (*οἱ γόητες καὶ λῃστρικοί*) united together for a common enterprise. "They persuaded the Jews to revolt, and exhorted them to assert their liberty, inflicting death on those that continued in obedience to the Roman government, and saying that such as willingly chose slavery ought to be forced from such their desired inclinations; for they parted themselves into different bodies, and lay in wait

[32] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 13. 4; *Antiq.* xx. 8. 6.

[33] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 13. 5; *Antiq.* xx. 8. 6: *ὁ δὲ Αἰγύπτιος αὐτὸς διαδοὰς ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο.* Undoubtedly the people believed in a wonderful deliverance and escape, and hoped for a return, to which even Acts xxi. 38 contains a reference.—Compare also Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* ii. 21.

up and down the country, and plundered the houses of the great men, and slew the men themselves, and set the villages on fire; and this till all Judea was filled with their madness." [34]

Thus did the misgovernment of Felix in the end bring about this result, that a large portion of the people from this time forth became thoroughly roused, under the constant strain of this wild reign of terror, to wage war against Rome, and rested not until at last the end was reached.

Besides these wild movements of the popular agitators, internal strifes and rivalries among the priests themselves led to the increase of confusion. The high priests were at feud with the other priests, and in consequence of the illegal arrangements which prevailed in Palestine under Felix' government, they could even go the length of sending their servants to the threshing-floor, and carrying away by force the tithes which belonged to the other priests, so that many of these unfortunate priests actually died for want.[35]

In the last two years of Felix occurred also the imprisonment of the Apostle Paul at Caesarea, of which an account is given in Acts xxiii., xxiv. We are familiar with the story of the personal interview which the apostle had with the Roman procurator and his wife Drusilla, at which the apostle did not fail to speak to both of that which it was specially fit that they should hear: "of righteousness and of temperance, and of judgment to come." [36]

While Paul lay a prisoner at Caesarea, a conflict arose there between the Jewish and Syrian inhabitants of the city over the question of equality in citizen rights (*ἰσοπολιτεία*). The Jews laid claim to the possession of certain advantages and privileges, since Herod was the founder of the city. The Syrians were naturally unwilling that any such preference

[34] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 13. 6; *Antiq.* xx. 8. 6.
[35] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 8. 8. [36] Acts of the Apostles, xxiv. 24 f.

should be given to the Jews. For a long time both parties fought with one another in riots on the public streets. At last on one occasion, when the Jews had obtained an advantage, Felix stepped in, reduced the Jews to order by military force, and gave up some of their houses to be plundered by the soldiers. But when, nevertheless, the disorders still continued, Felix sent the most prominent of both parties to Rome, in order that the question of law might be decided by the emperor.[37] Before, however, the matter had been settled, Felix, probably in A.D. 60, was recalled by Nero.[38]

[37] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 8. 7; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 13. 7.

[38] On the date of the recall of Felix and of Festus' entrance upon office, see the thoroughgoing researches of Wurm, *Tübinger Theologische Zeitschrift*, 1883, 1 Heft, pp. 8–25; Anger, *De temporum in actis apostolorum ratione*, pp. 88–106; Wieseler, *Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters*, pp. 66–99; Wieseler in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 1 Aufl. xxi. 553–558; *Beiträge zur richtigen Würdigung der Evangelien*, pp. 322–328; Wieseler, *Zur Geschichte der neutestamentlichen Schrift* (1880), p. 93 ff.; an anonymous paper, "St. Paul and Josephus," in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, new series, vol. vi. 1854, pp. 166–183; Lehmann, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1858, pp. 313–330; Lewin, *Fasti sacri*, p. 72 sqq.; J. Chr. K. v. Hofmann, *Die heilige Schrift neuen Testaments zusammenhängend untersucht*, Thl. v. 1873, pp. 13–16; Grätz, *Monatsschrift*, 1877, p. 443 ff. = *Geschichte der Juden*, 4 Aufl. iii. p. 729 ff.; Aberle, *Zur Chronologie der Gefangenschaft Pauli* (*Theologische Quartalschrift*, 1883, pp. 553–572; Kellner, art. "Felix" in Wetzer and Welte's *Kirchenlexikon*, 2 Aufl. iv. 1311 ff. (1886); Kellner in the *Katholik*, 1867, 1 Hälfte, pp. 146–151; Kellner, *Zeitschrift für Katholisch-Theologie*, 1888, pp. 640–646; Schanz, "Das Jahr der Gefangennahme des heiligen Apostels Paulus" (*Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft*, 1887, pp. 199–222, with supplement by Kellner, pp. 222–224; Wandel, *Zeitschrift für kirchlichen Wissenschaft und kirchlichen Leben*, 1888, p. 169 ff.; V. Weber, *Kritische Geschichte der Exegese des 9. Kapitels des Römerbriefes*, 1889, pp. 177–197.—An exact and certain determination of the year in which Felix was recalled is clearly impossible. Most of recent investigators assume A.D. 60 as the most probable date (so Wurm, Anger, Wieseler, the anonymous writer in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, Lewin, Hoffmann, Aberle, Schanz, Wandel). Some go a year or two farther back (Grätz, A.D. 59; Lehmann, A.D. 58). Only Kellner and V. Weber, after the example of some earlier scholars (Bengel, Süskind, Rettig, on whom see Wieseler, *Chronologie des apostol. Zeitalters*, p. 72), place the recall of Felix in the very beginning of Nero's reign: Kellner in November A.D. 54; Weber in the summer of A.D. 55. The grounds for

5. As successor of Felix, Nero sent Porcius Festus, A.D. 60–

this last hypothesis are: (1) In the Chronicle of Eusebius, according to the Armenian text, it is said that the recall of Felix took place in the last year of Claudius, A.D. 54 (Euseb. *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 152); in the Chronicle of Jerome it is placed in the second year of Nero (Euseb. *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 155). (2) When Felix after his recall was accused in Rome by the Jews, Pallas secured his acquittal (Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 8. 9). Pallas had therefore at this time still great influence; but he had clearly fallen into disfavour in the beginning of Nero's reign, in A.D. 55 (Tacitus, *Annals*, xiii. 14). (3) The office of the procurators came to an end with the death of the emperor unless it were renewed by his successor. In answer to these statements it is to be remarked: (1) The statements in the Chronicle of Eusebius are often quite arbitrary, and so prove nothing. Moreover, the Armenian translation of the Chronicle can hardly contain the original text of Eusebius, since Eusebius himself in his *Ecclesiastical History* represents Felix as officiating under Nero (ii. 20. 1, 22. 1). (2) Josephus puts almost everything that he relates of the proceedings of Felix under the reign of Nero (*Antiq.* xx. 8. 1–9; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 8–14, 1). Felix must therefore have exercised his office for at least some years under Nero. If, therefore, Pallas was in favour with Nero at the time of Felix' deposition, he must then have been restored to favour. There is no difficulty in making such an assumption, since we also know from Tacitus that before the expiry of A.D. 55 he had been found not guilty of charges that had been brought against him (Tacitus, *Annals*, xiii. 23). (3) The third argument made use of by Kellner falls to the ground before the statement of Josephus, that Felix officiated as procurator for a long while under Nero, and must therefore have been confirmed by him in office.—We can only fix with any degree of certainty upon the *terminus ad quem* of Felix' recall. It occurred at any rate in the summer, since the Apostle Paul, who, not long after the departure of Felix, was sent by ship to Rome, arrived in Crete about the time of the Great Day of Atonement in October (Acts xxvii. 9). But this summer cannot well have been later than that of A.D. 60. Seeing that the second successor of Felix, Albinus, arrived in Palestine late in the summer of A.D. 62, were we to assume that Felix left early in the summer of A.D. 61, we should be able to assign only one year to Festus, which in consideration of the incidents recorded as occurring in his time (*Antiq.* xx. 8. 9–11) is evidently too short. Very strange indeed is the argument in favour of A.D. 61 drawn from *Antiq.* xx. 8. 11. Because, forsooth, there in connection with an incident that occurred some time after Festus' entrance upon office, Poppea is spoken of as the wife of Nero, who was not married to her before A.D. 62 (Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv. 60), it has been maintained that Festus' entrance upon office cannot be placed earlier than A.D. 61. But there is nothing to prevent us from setting down that occurrence to a period more than a year after Festus' entrance upon office. Moreover,

62,[39] a man who, though disposed to act righteously, found himself utterly unable to undo the mischief wrought by the misdeeds of his predecessor.

Soon after Festus' entrance upon office the dispute between the Jewish and Syrian inhabitants of Caesarea was decided in favour of the Syrians by means of an imperial rescript. The Jewish ambassadors at Rome had not been able to press their charges against Felix, because Pallas took the side of his brother. On the other hand, the two Syrian ambassadors succeeded by bribery in winning over to their interests a certain man called Beryllus, who was Nero's secretary for his Greek correspondence,[40] and by this means obtained an imperial rescript, by which even that equality with the

the marriage of Nero with Poppea did not take place till somewhere about the time of Festus' death, perhaps even somewhat later. Although that event had not occurred during Festus' lifetime, we can quite understand Josephus proleptically describing Nero's concubine as his wife.—Should we then accept the year 60 as the *terminus ad quem*, it is, on the other hand, not advisable to go much further back; for two years before the departure of Felix the imprisonment of Paul begins. But at the time of Paul's apprehension Felix is described as already in possession of his office ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν (Acts xxiv. 10). If we place the apprehension of Paul in the year 58, Felix was then already six years in office. Much less it could not have been. Also the chronology of the life of Paul in other particulars does not require that we place the apprehension of the apostle earlier. There is at least a possibility of assuming the year 57, and so it is evidently possible to assign the removal of Felix to A.D. 59. It is most correct to say with Wurm, at the earliest in A.D. 58, at the latest in A.D. 61, most probably in A.D. 60.

[39] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 8. 9; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 1.—Compare on Festus: Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, i. 372 f.; Klaiber in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 1 Aufl. iv. 394; Overbeck in Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*, ii. 275 ff.

[40] Instead of the name Beryllus given by all the manuscripts of *Antiq.* xx. 8. 9, the editions of Josephus since those of Hudson and Havercamp read Burrus. This conjecture, upon which some have built important chronological conclusions, is particularly foolish, for this reason, that the description given (παιδαγωγὸς δὲ οὗτος ἦν τοῦ Νέρωνος, τάξιν τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐπιστολῶν πεπιστευμένος) does not suit Burrus, the well-known *praefectus praetorio*, with whom Josephus is quite well acquainted as such (*Antiq.* xx. 8. 2).

Syrians, with which before they had not been satisfied, was now taken away from the Jews, and the "Hellenes" declared to be the lords of the city. The embittered feelings excited by this decision among the Jews of Cæsarea burst forth a few years later, in A.D. 66, in violent revolutionary movements, which Josephus regards as the beginning of the great war.[41]

Festus, after repeated hearings, caused the Apostle Paul, whom Felix had left in prison (Acts xxiv. 27), at the apostle's own demand as a Roman citizen to be judged before the emperor, to be sent to Rome (Acts xxv., xxvi., xxvii. 1, 2; compare also, in addition, pp. 59, 74 of the present work).

The trouble in connection with the *Sicarii* continued under Festus just as great as it had been under Felix. During his government also a *deceiver*, so at least Josephus designates him, led the people into the wilderness, promising redemption and emancipation from all evils to those who should follow him. Festus proceeded against him with the utmost severity, but was unable to secure any lasting success.[42]

Details in regard to a conflict between the priests and King Agrippa II., in which Festus took the side of Agrippa, will be given under the section that treats of the history of that king.

After he had held office for a period of scarcely two years,

[41] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 8. 9; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 4.—The two representations of Josephus are inconsistent with one another in certain particulars. According to *Antiq.* xx. 8. 9, the ambassadors of the Jews of Caesarea did not go to Rome to make their complaint against Felix until after the entrance of Festus upon his office. According to *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 13. 7 *fin.*, however, the ambassadors of both parties had been sent by Felix himself to Rome, which is probable for this reason, that even according to *Antiq.* xx. 8. 9 the ambassadors of the Syrians were also in Rome.—According to *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 4, it would seem as if the decision of the emperor had not been given before A.D. 66. But this is not possible, since Pallas, who died in A.D. 62 (Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv. 65), played an important part in the proceedings.

[42] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 8. 10; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 1.

Festus died while administering his procuratorship, and two men succeeded him, one after the other, who, like genuine successors of Felix, contributed, as far as it lay in their power, to intensify the bitterness of the conflict, and hurry on its final bloody conclusion.

In the interval between the death of Festus and the arrival of his successor, in A.D. 62, utter anarchy prevailed in Jerusalem, which was turned to account by the high priest Ananus, a son of that elder Ananus or Annas who is well known in connection with the history of Christ's death, in order to secure in a tumultuous gathering the condemnation of his enemies, and to have them stoned. His arbitrary government was not indeed of long duration, for King Agrippa, even before the arrival of the new procurator, again deposed him after he had held office only for three months.[43] James, the brother of Jesus Christ (ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ), is said to have been among those executed by Ananus. So at least the words run in our present text of Josephus; and the words had been read even by Eusebius in his copy of Josephus precisely as they occur in our manuscripts.[44] There is considerable ground, however, for suspicion of Christian interpolation, especially as Origen read in Josephus another passage regarding the death of James, in which the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple is described as a divine judgment in consequence of the execution of James. This passage occurs in some of our manuscripts of Josephus, and ought therefore certainly to be regarded as a Christian interpolation which has been excluded from our common text.[45] Also in the account given by Hegesippus of

[43] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 9. 1.

[44] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* ii. 23. 21–24; literally the same as Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 9. 1.

[45] Origen makes reference three times to that passage in Josephus:—(1) *Comment. in Matth.* tom. x. c. 17 (on Matt. xiii. 55): "So high was the reputation of this James among the people for his righteousness, that

the execution of James it is brought into close connection with the destruction of Jerusalem. The year 62 cannot by any means be accepted as the date of his death.[46]

Josephus in his *Antiquities*, when he is explaining the cause of the destruction of the temple, says, κατὰ μῆνιν θεοῦ ταῦτα αὐτοῖς ἀπηντηκέναι, διὰ τὰ εἰς Ἰάκωβον, τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ, ὑπ' αὐτῶν τετολμημένα. . . . Λέγει δέ, ὅτι καὶ ὁ λαὸς ταῦτα ἐνόμιζε διὰ τὸν Ἰάκωβον πεπονθέναι." (2) *Contra Celsum*, i. 47: Ὁ δ' αὐτὸς . . . ζητῶν τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων πτώσεως καὶ τῆς τοῦ ναοῦ καθαιρέσεως . . . φησὶ ταῦτα συμβεβηκέναι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κατ' ἐκδίκησιν Ἰακώβου τοῦ δικαίου, ὃς ἦν ἀδελφὸς Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ, ἐπειδήπερ δικαιότατον αὐτὸν ὄντα ἀπέκτειναν. (3) *Contra Celsum*, ii. 13 *fin.*: Τίτος καθεῖλε τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ· ὡς μὲν Ἰώσηπος γράφει, διὰ Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον, τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ.—In the same style as Origen, *contra Celsus*, i. 47, and presumably following him, the passage is quoted in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* ii. 23. 20. From Eusebius are derived the short statements in Jerome, *De viris illustr.* c. 2 and 13; *adversus Jovinianum*, i. 39 (*Opera*, ed. Vallarsi, ii. 301). The Greek translation of Jerome, *De viris illustr.*, is reproduced by Suidas, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Ἰώσηπος.—Hilgenfeld, *Einleitung in das N. T.* p. 526, regards this passage of Josephus as genuine, after the example of some older critics!

[46] Eusebius has preserved for us (*Hist. eccl.* ii. 23. 11–18) a literal transcript of the account given by Hegesippus. According to him, James was cast down from the pinnacle of the temple, then stoned, and at last beaten to death by a fuller (γναφεύς) with a fuller's club. The narrative concludes with these words: Καὶ εὐθὺς Οὐεσπασιανὸς πολιορκεῖ αὐτούς. Clement of Alexandria, in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* ii. 1. 4, and Epiphanius, *Haer.* 78. 14, base their statements upon Hegesippus. The close connection in time between the execution of James and the destruction of Jerusalem is also emphasized by Eusebius in his own exposition (*Hist. eccl.* iii. 11. 1): μετὰ τὴν Ἰακώβου μαρτυραν καὶ τὴν αὐτίκα γενομένην ἅλωσιν τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ. Though much that is legendary is contained in the narrative of Hegesippus, it is nevertheless, from a chronological point of view, at least as deserving of consideration as the passage in Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 9. 1, which is open to the suspicion of interpolation.—It should, however, be remarked, that the casting down from a height before the stoning, is a regular injunction of the Jewish law (Mishna, *Sanhedrin* vi. 4).—Compare generally on the year of the death of James, and on the genuineness of the statement in Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 9. 1; Clericus, *Ars critica*, p. iii. sec. 1, c. 14; Credner, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, pp. 580–582 (against the genuineness); Rothe, *Die Anfänge der christliche Kirche und ihrer Verfassung*, pp. 274–276 (similar to Credner); Gieseler, *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i. (Edin. 1846) pp. 95–98; Koessing, *Dissertatio de anno quo mortem obierit Jacobus frater Domini*, Heidelb. 1857; Gust.

6. The testimony of Josephus in regard to the new procurator Albinus, A.D. 62–64,[47] is to the effect that there was no sort of wickedness that could be mentioned which he had not a hand in. The leading principle of his procedure seems, however, to have been: To get money from whomsoever he might obtain it. Public as well as private treasures were subjected to his plunderings, and the whole people had to suffer oppression under his exactions.[48] But he also found it to his advantage to seek money as bribes for his favour from both political parties in the country, from the friends of the Romans, as well as from their opponents. From the high priest Ananias, inclined to favour the Romans, as well as from his enemies, the Sicarii, he accepted presents, and then allowed both of them without restraint to do as they liked. He made, indeed, a pretence of opposing the *Sicarii;* but for

Boettger, *Die Zeugnisse des Flavius Josephus von Johannes dem Täufer, von Jesu Christo und von Jakobus, dem Bruder des Herrn*, Dresden 1863; Gerlach, *Die Weissagungen des Alten Testaments in den Schriften des Flavius Josephus*, 1863, p. 117 ff.; Ebben, *Genuinum esse Flavii Josephi de Jacobo fratre Jesu testimonum*, Cleve 1864; J. Chr. K. v. Hofmann, *Die heilige Schrift neuen Testaments zusammenhängend untersucht*, Thl. vii. 3 Abth. 1876, p. 4 f.; Wieseler, *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1878, pp. 99–109; Volkmar, *Jesus Nazarenus*, 1882, pp. 345–348; Wandel, *Zeitschrift für kirchlichen Wissenschaft und kirchlichen Leben*, 1888, pp. 142–144; Kellner, "Der wahre Todestag [und das Todesjahr] Jakobus des Alphäiden" (*Katholik*, 1888, erste Hälfte, pp. 394–399).

[47] The date of Albinus' entrance upon his office may be discovered from *Wars of the Jews*, vi. 5. 3. According to the statement given there, Albinus was already procurator when, at the time of the Feast of Tabernacles, four years before the outbreak of the war, and more than seven years and five months before the destruction of the city, a certain man, Jesus, son of Ananos, made his appearance, prophesying misfortune. These two indications of time carry us to the Feast of Tabernacles A.D. 62. Hence Albinus entered upon his office, at the latest, in the summer of A.D. 62.—Our Albinus is very probably identical with Lucceius Albinus, who, under Nero, Galba, and Otho, was procurator of Mauritania, and, during the conflicts between Otho and Vitellius, was, in A.D. 69, put to death by Vitellius' party (Tacitus, *History*, ii. 58–59). Compare Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, iv. 1158; Rohden, *De Palaestina et Arabia*, p. 36.

[48] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 1.

money any one who might be taken prisoner could secure his release. "Nobody remained in prison as a malefactor, but he who gave him nothing."[49] The *Sicarii*, indeed, found out another means for securing the liberation of those of their party who had been taken prisoners. They were in the habit of seizing upon adherents of the opposite party only. Then at the wish of the Roman party, by whom also he was bribed, Albinus would set free as many of the Sicarii as they would of their opponents. Once on a time the Sicarii seized the secretary of the ruler of the temple, Eleasar, a son of Ananias,[50] and in return for the liberation of the secretary they secured the restoration of ten of their own comrades.[51] Under such a government the anti-Roman party gained footing more and more, or, as Josephus puts it, "the boldness of those desirous of change became more and more obtrusive."[52] And seeing that, on the other hand, their opponents also had full scope, utter anarchy soon prevailed in Jerusalem. It was a war of all against all. Ananias, the high priest, behaved in the most outrageous manner. He allowed his servants quite openly to take away from the threshing-floors the tithes of the priests, and those who opposed them were beaten.[53] Two noble relatives of King Agrippa, called Costobar and Saul, also tried their hand at the robber business,[54] and with them was associated the man who had committed to him the maintaining of law and order, even the procurator Albinus himself.[55] In such times it was indeed nothing calculated to excite surprise when on one occasion a high priest, Jesus, son of Damnäos, engaged in pitched battle in the streets with his

[49] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 9. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 1.

[50] Instead of Ἀνάνου we should undoubtedly read Ἀνανίου. Compare *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 17. 2, 20. 4; Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, p. 248, note 1.

[51] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 9. 3. [52] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 1.

[53] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 9. 2. [54] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 9. 4.

[55] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 1.

successor, Jesus, son of Gamaliel, because he had no wish to give up to him the sacred office.[56]

When Albinus was recalled, in order to do a pleasure to the inhabitants of the capital, and also to make the work of his successor as heavy as possible, he left all the prisons empty, having executed the ordinary malefactors, and set at liberty all the other prisoners. "Thus the prisons were left empty of prisoners, but the country full of robbers."[57]

7. The last procurator, Gessius Florus, A.D. 64–66,[58] was at the same time also the worst. He belonged to Clazomenae, and had through the influence of his wife Cleopatra, who was a friend of the Empress Poppea, obtained the procuratorship of Judea. For the utter baseness which characterized his administration of his office, Josephus can scarcely find words sufficiently strong to express his feelings. In comparison with him, he thinks that even Albinus was extraordinarily law honouring (δικαιότατος). So unbounded was his tyranny, that in view of it the Jews praised Albinus as a benefactor. Whereas Albinus wrought his wickednesses at least in secret, Florus was impudent enough to parade them openly. The robbing of individuals seemed to him quite too small. He plundered whole cities, and ruined whole communities. If only the robbers would share their spoil with him, they would be allowed to carry on their operations unchecked.[59]

[56] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 9. 4.

[57] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 9. 5.

[58] Seeing that Florus, according to *Antiq.* xx. 11. 1, had entered upon the second year of his administration when, in May A.D. 66 (*Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 4), the war broke out, he must have entered upon his office in A.D. 64.—The name Gessius Florus is also attested by Tacitus, *History*, v. 10. In the Chronicle of Eusebius it is corrupted into Γέστιος Φλῶρος (the Greek form as given in Syncellus, ed. Dindorf, i. 637; in the Latin rendering of Jerome [Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 157], Cestius Florus); in the Armenian translation it is further converted into *Cestius filius Flori* (Euseb. *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 156, on the 14th year of Nero).

[59] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 11. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 2.

By such outrages the measure which the people could endure was at last filled up to the brim. The combustible materials which had been gathering for years had now grown into a vast heap. It needed only a spark, and an explosion would follow of fearful and most destructive force.

SUPPLEMENT. AGRIPPA II., A.D. 50–100.

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The inscriptions referring to Agrippa II. are collected from Waddington in the *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1873, pp. 248–255. On an addition to this list see vol. i. of this work, p. 30.

Agrippa II., son of Agrippa I., whose full name, as given on coins and inscriptions, was Marcus Julius Agrippa,[1] seems like almost all the members of the Herodian family, to have been educated and brought up in Rome. There, at least, we find him at the time of his father's death in A.D. 44, when Claudius

[1] Compare on the coins of Agrippa generally: Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 493–496; Mionnet, *Description de médailles*, v. 570–576; *Supplem.*

wished to appoint him as successor to his father.[2] That the emperor, at the instigation of his counsellors on the plea of Agrippa's youth, did not carry out this purpose has been already narrated above. The youth remained for a while at Rome, and found there abundant opportunities of being useful to his countrymen by making use of his influence and connections with the court. Notable instances of his successful intervention are those of the dispute about the high priest's robe[3] and the conflict waged during the time of Cumanus.[4] To him also it was mainly due that Cumanus did not escape the punishment he deserved. With this last-mentioned incident we are already brought down to A.D. 52. But even before this there had been bestowed upon him by Claudius, in compensation for the loss of his father's territories, another kingdom, though, indeed, a smaller one. After the death of his uncle, Herod of Chalcis, whose life and history are given

viii. 280 sq.; Lenormant, *Trésor de Numismatique*, pp. 127–130, pl. lx.–lxii.; Cavedoni, *Biblische Numismatik*, i. 53 f., 61–64, ii. 38 f.; Levy, *Geschichte der jüdischen Münzen*, p. 82; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 113–133; De Saulcy, *Etude chronologique*, 1869 (see above in the general list of literature); Reichardt in the *Wiener Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Bd. iii. 1871, p. 83 ff.; Mommsen, *Weiner Num. Zeitschr.* 1871, p. 449 ff.; Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1875, pp. 101–139; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881, pp. 139–169 (containing the most complete list). The name Marcus on a coin of the time of Nero: Βασιλέος (*sic*) Μάρκου Ἀγριππου (Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 146). In accordance with this, probably an inscription at Helbon, not far from Abila, of Lysanias, may be filled out in the following manner: Ἐπὶ βασιλέος μεγάλου Μάρκο[υ . . . Ἀγρίππα φιλο]καίσαρος καὶ φιλορωμαίων (*sic*), Le Bas et Waddington, *Inscriptions*, t. iii. n. 2552. The name Julius on an inscription at El-Hit, north of the Hauran: Ἐπὶ βασιλέω[ς . . . Ἰου]λίου Ἀγρίππα, Le Bas et Waddington, *Inscriptions*, t. iii. n. 2112. The reference of the inscription to Agrippa II. is not indeed certain, but it is highly probable. See *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1873, p. 250. Even without this witness the name Julius might *à priori* be assumed for Agrippa II., since the whole family had borne it. See above, p. 162.

[2] Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 9. 2.

[3] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 1. 2; xv. 11. 4. Compare above, p. 167.

[4] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 6. 3. Compare above, p. 173.

in detail in Appendix I., he obtained, though not probably just at once, but only in A.D. 50, his kingdom in the Lebanon, and, at the same time, what that prince also had had, the oversight of the temple and the right to appoint the high priests.[5] Of this latter right he frequently available himself by repeated depositions and nominations of high priests down to the outbreak of the war in A.D. 66. Probably after this gift had been bestowed upon him Agrippa continued still to reside for a while in Rome, where we meet with him in A.D. 52, and only after this date actually entered upon the government of his kingdom.

He can only seldom, or perhaps not even once, have revisited Palestine, when, in A.D. 53, in the thirteenth year of Claudius, in return for the relinquishment of the small kingdom of Chalcis, he received a larger territory, namely, the tetrarchy of Philip, including Batanea, Trachonitis, and Gaulanitis, and the tetrarchy of Lysanias, consisting of Abila and the domains of Varus.[6] This territory, after the death of Claudius, was

[5] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 5. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 1. Compare *Antiq.* xx. 9. 7: Ἐπετρίστευτο ὑπὸ Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ. There is indeed no mention of the conferring of the right of appointing the high priests, but only of the practical exercise of that right. Compare below, § 23. IV. That the gift of the kingdom was not made before A.D. 50, may be concluded from *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 4, according to which Agrippa had reached the seventeenth year of his reign when, in the month Artemisios (Ijjar) of A.D. 66, the war broke out. His seventeenth year therefore began, if we count the reign of Agrippa II. as Jewish king, according to Mishna, *Rosh-hashana* i. 1, from 1st Nisan to 1st Nisan, on the 1st Nisan of A.D. 66, and his first year at the earliest on 1st Nisan A.D. 50, but probably somewhat later. Compare Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis*, p. 48, note 2; *Chronologie des Apostolischen Zeitalters*, p. 68.

[6] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 7. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 8. To the tetrarchy of Lysanias undoubtedly belongs also Helbon, not far from Abila Lysanias, where the inscription referred to in note 1 was found. Of the ἐπαρχία Οὐάρου Josephus gives us an explanation in his *Life*, c. xi.; for the Varus there referred to, the Noarus of *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 18. 6, whom Josephus describes as ἔκγονος Σοέμου τοῦ περὶ τὸν Λίβανον τετραρχοῦντος, is

still further enlarged, through Nero's favour for him, by the addition of important parts of Galilee and Perea, namely, the cities of Tiberias and Tarichea, together with the lands around belonging to them, and the city Julias, together with fourteen surrounding villages.[7]

most probably to be identified with our Varus. Then, again, his father Soemus will be no other than the Soemus who, at the end of A.D. 38, obtained from Caligula τὴν τῶν Ἰτυραίων τῶν Ἀράβων (Dio Cassius, lix. 12), which territory he governed till his death in A.D. 49, when it was incorporated in the province of Syria (Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 23). It may therefore be assumed that to his son Varus a portion of the territory on the Lebanon had been left for a time, and that this is the ἐπαρχία Οὐάρου which Claudius bestowed upon Agrippa.—Seeing then that Agrippa obtained the new territory in the thirteenth year of Claudius (that year including from 24th January A.D. 53 till the same day in A.D. 54), after he had ruled over Chalcis for four years (δυναστεύσας ταύτης ἔτη τέσσαρα), and seeing that further his fourth year, according to the reckoning we have accepted above, began on 1st Nisan A.D. 53, the gift must have been bestowed toward the end of A.D. 53.

[7] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 8. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 13. 2. In the latter passage Abila is spoken of as still in Perea. Compare on this point Div. II. vol. i. p. 105.—At what time this gift was bestowed cannot be with any certainty determined. On the later coins of Agrippa the years of his reign are reckoned according to an era which begins with A.D. 61. It is possible that this era has its distinctive basis in this, that Agrippa had in that year obtained the enlarged territory from Nero. This is the view of Keim in Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*, iii. 58; but Wieseler opposes it in *Chronologie des Apostolischen Zeitalters*, pp. 90–92. Then the abstraction of portions of Galilee and Perea spoken of have taken place immediately after the removal of Felix and Festus' entrance upon office. This perhaps is the meaning of a passing allusion in Josephus, according to which Tiberias remained under Roman rule μέχρι Φήλικος προϊσταμένου τῆς Ἰουδαίας (*Life*, ix.). Yet this μέχρι does not of itself mean "down to the end of Felix's term of office." The hypothesis is therefore uncertain that it also marks an era of Agrippa beginning in A.D. 56. We might also take as the basis for this the enlargement of territory by Nero. This is the opinion of Grätz, *Monatsschrift*, 1877, pp. 344–349. He assumes as the basis of this era of A.D. 61 the rebuilding of Caesarea Philippi under the name of Neronias; which, however, is improbable, for this reason, that this incident might have been the beginning of a new system of chronology for the city Neronias but not for Agrippa. The era of A.D. 61 can be determined with certainty according to certain coins on which the 26th year of Agrippa is made to synchronize with the 12th consulship

Of Agrippa's private life there is not much that is favourable to report. His sister Berenice,[8] who, from the time of the death of Herod of Chalcis in A.D. 48, was a widow (see under Appendix I.), lived from that date in the house of her brother, and soon had the weak man completely caught in the meshes of her net, so that regarding her, the mother of two children, the vilest stories became current. When the scandal became public, Berenice, in order to cut away occasion for all evil reports, resolved to marry Polemon of Cilicia, who, for this purpose, was obliged to submit to be circumcised. She did not, however, continue long with him, but came back again to her brother, and seems to have resumed her old relations with

of Domitian, *Dom. Cos.* xii. (in Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 157 sq.), and according to another, on which the 25th year of Agrippa is also made to synchronize with the 12th consulship of Domitian (in Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 157). De Saulcy believes indeed that it is not the 25th and 26th years of Agrippa that are there meant, but the 25th and 26th years of an era belonging to the city of Caesarea Philippi. See *Étude chronologique*, 1869, and *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, p. 315. But the date is given thus: ἐπὶ βα. Αγρ. ετ. κε', which can only mean, under King Agrippa in his 25th year, etc. Seeing then that the 12th consulship of Domitian belongs to A.D. 86, the 26th year of Agrippa began also in that year, and consequently the era, according to which he reckons, began in A.D. 61.— An era beginning five years earlier is witnessed to by two coins and an inscription. The two coins bear the date ἔτους αἱ τοῦ καὶ ↄ (the figure which represents the number VI.). See Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 146. The eleventh year of the reign of Agrippa, according to the one era, is therefore identical with the sixth year according to the other era. Both of these eras are made use of upon an inscription found at Sanamen on the Hauran: ἔτους λζ' τοῦ καὶ λβ' βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα (*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, vii. 1884, p. 121 f. = *Archäol.-epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, viii. 1884, p. 189 f.). There, too, the one era begins five years before the other. Seeing then that we may there fairly assume that among the various eras of Agrippa the latest was, in later times, the one most commonly used, and seeing that, also according to the coins of A.D. 86, the era usually employed is that of A.D. 61, the one era must have begun in A.D. 56 and the other in A.D. 61.

[8] Compare on Agrippa and Berenice, Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, i. 2, 2 Aufl. p. 2352; Hausrath in Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*, i. 396–399.

him. At least this somewhat later came to be the common talk of Rome.[9]

In the matter of public policy Agrippa was obliged to give up even the little measure of independence which his father sought to secure, and had unconditionally to subordinate himself to the Roman government. He provided auxiliary troops for the Parthian campaign of A.D. 54;[10] and when, in A.D. 60, the new procurator Festus arrived in Palestine, he hastened, along with his sister Berenice, surrounded with great pomp (*μετὰ πολλῆς φαντασίας*), to offer him a welcome.[11] His capital Caesarea Philippi was named by him Neronias in honour of the emperor, and the city of Berytus, which his father had adorned with magnificent specimens of pagan art, was still further indebted to his liberality.[12] His coins, almost without exception, bear the names and images of the reigning emperor: of Nero, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. Like his father, he also caused himself to be styled *βασιλεὺς μέγας φιλόκαισαρ εὐσεβὴς καὶ φιλορώμαιος*.[13]

That upon the whole he was attached to the Roman rather than to the Jewish side is made very evident from an incident which, in yet another direction, is characteristic of his indol-

[9] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 7. 3; Juvenal, *Satires*, vi. 156–160:—

"..... adamas notissimus et Berenices
In digito factus pretiosior; hunc dedit olim
Barbarus incestae, dedit hunc Agrippa sorori,
Observant ubi festa mero pede sabbata reges,
Et vetus indulget senibus clementia porcis."

[10] Tacitus, *Annals*, xiii. 7.

[11] Acts of the Apostles xxv. 13, 23.

[12] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 9. 4. The name of the city Neronias is also on the coins (Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 343; Mionnet, *Description de médailles*, v. 315; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 116, 117; De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, pp. 316, 318; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, pp. 145, 146. That the capital was not Tiberias, therefore, certainly Neronias, is quite clear from Josephus, *Life*, c. ix.

[13] He is so named in an inscription given by Waddington, n. 2365 (see above, p. 162); also compare n. 2552.

ence and general feebleness. When he paid a visit to Jerusalem, he was wont to occupy the house that had formerly been the palace of the Asmoneans.[14] This building, lofty even in its original form, he caused to be considerably heightened by the addition of a tower, in order that from it he might overlook the citadel and the temple, and to observe in his idle hours the sacred proceedings in the temple. This lazy onlooker was obnoxious to the priests, and they thwarted his scheme by building a high wall to shut off his view. Agrippa then applied for assistance to his friend, the procurator Festus, and he was very willing to give him any help he could. But a Jewish deputation, which went on its own authority about the business to Rome, managed by means of the mediation of the Empress Poppea to obtain permission to keep up the wall, so that Agrippa was obliged forthwith to abandon his favourite diversion.[15]

Notwithstanding his unconditional submission to Rome, Agrippa yet sought also to keep on good terms with the friends of Judaism. His brothers-in-law, Azizus of Emesa and Polemon of Cilicia, were required on their marriage with his sisters to submit to circumcision.[16] The rabbinical tradition tells of questions pertaining to the law which were put by Agrippa's minister or by the king himself to the famous scribe Rabbi Elieser.[17] Yea on one occasion we find even Berenice, a bigot as well as a wanton, a Nazarite in Jerusalem.[18] Judaism was indeed as little a matter of heart conviction with Agrippa as it had been with his father.

[14] This palace lay, according to *Antiq.* xx. 8. 11 and *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 16. 3, on the so-called Xystus, an open plain, from which a bridge led directly to the temple (*Wars of the Jews*, vi. 6, 2).

[15] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 8. 11. [16] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 7. 1, 3.

[17] Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, pp. 252–254; Grätz, *Monatsschrift*, 1881, pp. 483–493. Tradition names sometimes Agrippa's minister, sometimes Agrippa himself as the party in question.

[18] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 15. 1.

The difference was only this, that as a matter of policy the father took up decidedly the side of the Pharisees, whereas the son with less disguise exhibited his utter indifference. When it is told in the Acts of the Apostles how Agrippa and Berenice desired out of curiosity to see and hear the Apostle Paul, while the king could make no other reply to the apostle's enthusiastic testimony on behalf of Christ than: "With little wouldest thou win me over to be a Christian," and therewith allows the matter to pass away from his mind, we can see not only that he was free from all fanaticism, but also that he had no interest whatever in the deeper religious questions of the time.[19]

His interest in Judaism extended only to external matters, and, indeed, only to merely trifling and insignificant points. In order to support the temple when its foundations had begun to sink, and to raise the buildings twenty cubits higher, he caused, at great expense, wood of immense size and fine quality to be imported from the Lebanon. But the wood, owing to the outbreak of the war in the meantime, was never put to that use, and subsequently served for the manufacture of engines of war.[20] He allowed the psalm-singing Levites, when they made the request of him, to wear the linen garments which previously had been a distinctive badge of the priests. For such an offence against the law, the war, as Josephus thinks,

[19] On the meaning of the words of Agrippa in Acts xxvi. 28, see especially Overbeck on the passage. They were certainly not used ironically, but in thorough earnest. "The king confesses that with the few words that he had spoken Paul had made him feel inclined to become a Christian." But then his indifference is shown in this, that he does nothing further in the matter.—It should not indeed be left unrecorded that instead of γενέσθαι very good manuscripts (ℵAB) read ποιῆσαι, and instead of πείθεις one manuscript (A) has πείθῃ, which would give the translation: "With little thinkest thou to make me a Christian." But πείθῃ is too weakly supported, and unless we could adopt that reading the ποιῆσαι would be untranslatable.

[20] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 1. 5; *Antiq.* xv. 11. 3.

was a just punishment.[21] When, in the time of Albinus, the building of the temple of Herod was completed, in order to secure employment for the multitudes of builders, Agrippa had the city paved with white marble.[22] "And thus at least as costume maker, wood-cutter, pavier, and practical inspector of the temple, did he render his services to the sinking Jerusalem."[23]

When, in the spring of A.D. 66, the revolution broke out, Agrippa was in Alexandria, where he had gone to pay his respects to the governor of that place, Tiberius Alexander, while his sister Berenice remained in Jerusalem in consequence of a Nazarite vow.[24] Agrippa then immediately hasted back, and both brother and sister did all in their power to avert the threatening storm. But all in vain. Open hostilities were now begun in Jerusalem between the war and the peace parties, and the king's troops, which he had sent to help, fought on the side of the peace party. When this latter party had been defeated, and among other buildings, the palaces of Agrippa and Berenice had fallen victims to the popular fury,[25] he became the decided choice of that party. Unhesitatingly throughout the whole war he stood on the side of the Romans. Even when Cestius Gallus undertook his unfortunate expedition against Jerusalem, King Agrippa was found in his following with a considerable number of auxiliary troops.[26] As the further course of the revolt proved favourable to the Jews he lost a great part of his territory. The cities Tiberias, Tarichea, and Gamala joined the revolutionary party; but the king remained unflinchingly faithful to the Roman cause.[27] After the

[21] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 9. 6.—The combinations which Grätz (*Monatsschrift*, 1886, p. 97 f.) makes in this connection are more than doubtful.

[22] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 9. 7.

[23] Keim in Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*, iii. 59.

[24] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 15. 1. [25] *Ibid.* ii. 17. 6.

[26] *Ibid.* ii. 18. 9, 19. 3.

[27] Further details regarding Agrippa's conduct during the war are given

conquest of Jotapata, in the summer of A.D. 67, he entertained the commander-in-chief Vespasian in the most magnificent manner in his capital of Caesarea Philippi,[28] and was able soon, after he had been slightly wounded at the siege of Gamala,[29] to take possession again of his kingdom; for at the end of the year 67 the whole of the north of Palestine was again subject to the Romans.

When, after the death of Nero, which occurred on 9th June A.D. 68, Titus went to Rome to pay his respects to the new emperor Galba, he took Agrippa with him also for the same purpose. On the way they received tidings of Galba's murder, which took place on 15th January A.D. 69. While Titus now returned with as great speed as possible to his father, Agrippa continued his journey to Rome, where for a time he continued to reside.[30] But after Vespasian had been, on 30th July A.D. 69, elected emperor by the Egyptian and

in Keim, *Bibellexikon*, iii. 60–63.—Agrippa was not present in Palestine during the interval between the defeat of Cestius Gallus and the advance of Vespasian. He gave over the administration of his kingdom to a certain Noarus or Varus, and, when this man began to indulge in the most despotic and high-handed procedure, to a certain Aequus Modius (*Wars of the Jews*, ii. 18. 6; *Life*, c. xi. and xxxvi., compare also xxiv.).—Of the three cities named (Tiberias, Tarichea, Gamala), Gamala was of special importance as a strong fortress. It was at first held faithfully for the king by Philip, an officer of Agrippa (*Life*, c. xi.). But when Philip was recalled by Agrippa the city went over to the side of the rebels (*Life*, xxxv.–xxxvii.; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 20. 4, 6, ii. 21. 7). Agrippa then ordered Aequus Modius to recapture Gamala (*Life*, xxiv.). But even a seven months' siege failed to secure this end (*Wars of the Jews*, iv. 1. 2). Another officer of Agrippa fought against Josephus (*Life*, lxxi.–lxxiii.).—Agrippa remained in Berytus till the spring of A.D. 67 (*Life*, xxxvi., lxv., ed. Bekker, p. 342, 32), then waited in Antioch along with his troops the arrival of Vespasian's army (*Wars of the Jews*, iii. 2. 4), advanced with Vespasian to Tyre (*Life*, lxxiv.) and Ptolemais (*Life*, lxv., ed. Bekker, p. 340, 19–25, and c. lxxiv.), and seems now to have taken up his quarters more generally in Vespasian's camp (*Wars of the Jews*, iii. 4. 2, 9. 7–8, 10. 10, iv. 1. 3).

[28] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 9. 7. [29] *Ibid.* iv. 1. 3.

[30] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 9. 2; Tacitus, *History*, ii. 1–2.

Syrian legions, Berenice, who had been throughout a hearty supporter of the Flavian party, urged her brother to return without delay to Palestine to take the oath of allegiance to the new emperor.[31] From this time forward Agrippa is to be found in the company of Titus, to whom Vespasian had entrusted the continued prosecution of the war.[32] When Titus, after the conquest of Jerusalem, gave magnificent and costly games at Caesarea Philippi, King Agrippa was undoubtedly present, and as a Roman joined in the rejoicings over the destruction of his people.[33]

After the war had been brought to an end Agrippa, as a faithful partizan of Vespasian, was not only confirmed in the possession of the kingdom which he had previously governed, but had also considerable additions made to his territories, though we have no more detailed account of the precise boundaries of his domains.[34] Josephus mentions only incidentally that Arcaia (Arca, at the north end of the Lebanon, north-east of Tripolis) belonged to the kingdom of Agrippa.[35]

[31] Tacitus, *History*, ii. 81.

[32] *Ibid.* v. 1.

[33] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 2. 1.

[34] Photius in his *Bibliotheca*, *cod.* 33, gives the following extract about Agrippa from Justus of Tiberias: *παρέλαβε μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου, ηὐξήθη δὲ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ, τελευτᾷ δὲ ἔτει τρίτῳ Τραϊανοῦ.*

[35] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 5. 1. Josephus there tells how that Titus, on the march from Berytus to Antioch, came upon the so-called Sabbath-river, which flows *μέσος Ἀρκαίας τῆς Ἀγρίππα βασιλείας καὶ Ῥαφανααίας*. A city therefore is intended which lay north of Berytus, and so undoubtedly the same Arcae which according to the old itineraries lay between Tripolis and Antaradus, 16 or 18 Roman miles north of Tripolis and 32 Roman miles south of Antaradus (18 *mil. pass.*: *Itinerarium Antonini*, edd. Parthey et Pinder, 1848, p. 68; 16 *mil. pass.*: *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, edd. Parthey et Pinder, p. 275 = *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, edd. Tobler et Molinier, i. 1879, p. 14; they agree in giving the distance from Antaradus at 32 *mil. pass.*). The name is retained to the present day in that of a village at the north end of the Lebanon on the spot indicated in the itineraries. In ancient times the city was very well known. The Arkites are named in the list of peoples in Gen. x. 17 (עַרְקִי). Josephus, *Antiq.* i. 6. 2, calls it:

We are therefore obliged to conclude that his new possessions stretched very far to the north. The omission on the part of

Ἄρκην τὴν ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ. Quite distinct from this is the Arce mentioned in *Antiq.* v. 1. 22, which lay much farther south. In *Antiq.* viii. 2. 3, Niese reads, indeed, Ἀκή; but for this *Antiq.* ix. 14. 2 has Ἄρκη. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 18. 74, and Ptolemy, v. 15. 21, simply mention the name. Stephen of Byzantium remarks: Ἄρκη, πόλις Φοινίκης, ἡ νῦν Ἄρκαι καλουμένη. Jerome explains Gen. x. 17 thus: "Aracaeus, qui Arcas condidit, oppidum contra Tripolim in radicibus Libani situm" (*Quaest. Hebr. in Genesin*, *Opera*, ed. Vallarsi, iii. 321). In the days of the empire, Arca was specially known as the birthplace of Alexander Severus (Lamprid. *Alexander Severus*, c. 1, 5, 13; Aurel. Victor, *Caesar*, c. 24). It was there also called Caesarea (Lamprid. *Alexander Severus*, c. 13: "Apud Arcam Caesaream;" Aurel. Victor, *Caesar*, c. 24: "Cui duplex, Caesarea et Arca, nomen est"). On coins this name occurs as early as the time of Marcus Aurelius (Καισαρεων των εν τω Λιβανω or Καισαρειας Λιβανου). From the time of Heliogabalus, if not even earlier, it is ranked on the coins as a Roman colony: "Col. Caesaria Lib(ani)." An inscription, found by Renan in the neighbourhood of Botrys, refers to a dispute about a boundary between the Caesarians and the Gigartenians, *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* iii. n. 183 = Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 149: "Fines positi inter Caesarenses ad Libanum et Gigartenos de vico Sidonior[um] jussu . . .). From this, however, it should not be concluded that their regular frontiers touched one another. See Mommsen's remarks in *Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, and those of Renan in his work referred to. The situation of Gigarta may be determined from the order of enumeration in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 78: "Botrys, Gigarta, Trieris, Calamos, Tripolis." The plural form Ἄρκαι, used by Stephen of Byzantium, is also confirmed by the itineraries, by Jerome, Socrates (*Hist. eccl.* vii. 36), and Hierocles (*Synecdemus*, ed. Parthey, p. 43).—Compare generally, Belley, *Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, first series, vol. xxxii. 1768, pp. 685–694; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvii. 1. 808 ff., 842; Robinson, *Later Researches in Palestine;* Forbiger, *Handbuch der alten Geographie*, ii. 672; Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, i. 2, 2 Aufl. p. 1423 f.; Kuhn, *Die städtische und bürgerliche Verfassung des römischen Reichs*, ii. 331 f.; Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, p. 1073; Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, i. 86; Baudissin, art. "Arkiter" in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 2 Aufl. i. 645 f.; Knobel, *Die Völkertafel der Genesis*, 1850, p. 327 f.; Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 115 sq.; Furrer, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, viii. 1885, p. 18; Neubauer, *La géographie du Talmud*, p. 299.—On the coins: Belley, *Mémoires de l'Académie*, xxxii. (1768); Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 360–362; Mionnet, *Description de médailles*, v. 356–358; *Suppl.* viii. 255–257; De Saulcy, *Annuaire de la Société française de Num. et d'Archéologie*, iii. 2, 1869, pp. 270–275; De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, pp. 117–120.

Josephus in *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 3. 5, to refer to these northern possessions, can be accounted for only by the hypothesis that at the time of the composition of that work this extension of territory had not yet taken place. As a matter of fact, Josephus does not refer to them there, because in that passage he does not propose to describe the whole kingdom of Agrippa, but only those districts which were inhabited more or less by Jews (compare Div. II. vol. i. p. 2). Of the southern possessions certain portions seem at a later period to have been taken away from Agrippa. At least, at the time when Josephus wrote his *Antiquities*, *i.e.* in A.D. 93–94, the Jewish colony of Bathyra in Batanea no longer belonged to the territory of Agrippa.[36]

In A.D. 75 the brother and sister, Agrippa and Berenice, arrived in Rome, and there those intimate relations begun in Palestine between Berenice and Titus were resumed, which soon became a public scandal.[37] The Jewish queen lived with Titus on the Palatine, while her brother was raised to the rank of a praetor. It was generally expected that there would soon be a formal marriage, which it is said that Titus had indeed promised her. But the dissatisfaction over the matter in Rome was so great that Titus found himself under the necessity of sending his beloved one away.[38] After the

[36] Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 2. 2. In the *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 3. 5, Batanea is reckoned as still belonging to the territory of Agrippa.

[37] Even Titus' return to Palestine on receiving intelligence of Galba's death was ascribed by his defamers to his longing for the society of Berenice (Tacitus, *History*, ii. 2).

[38] Dio Cassius, lxvi. 15; Suetonius, *Titus*, 7: "Insignem reginae Berenices amorem cui etiam nuptias pollicitus ferebatur."—Berenice had even already publicly assumed the name of Titus' wife (*πάντα ἤδη ὡς καὶ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ οὖσα ἐποίει*, Dio Cassius, lxvi. 15). Any suspected of having intercourse with her were rigorously punished by Titus. Aurel. Victor, *Epit.* 10: "Caecinam consularem adhibitum coenae, vixdum triclinio egressum, ob suspicionem stupratae Berenices uxoris suae, jugulari jussit." —Compare also Hausrath, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, 2 Aufl. iv. 52–55.

death of Vespasian, on 23rd June A.D. 79, she returned once more to Rome; but Titus had come to see that love intrigues were not compatible with the dignity of an emperor, and so left her unnoticed.[39] When she found herself thus deceived she returned again to Palestine.

Of her later life, as well as of that of Agrippa, we know practically nothing. We know indeed only this, that Agrippa corresponded with Josephus about his *History of the Jewish War*, praised it for its accuracy and reliability, and purchased a copy of it.[40]

Numerous coins of Agrippa confirm the idea that his reign continued to the end of that of Domitian. The many inaccuracies which are found on these coins with reference to the imperial title have caused much trouble to numismatists. Yet, in reality, these inaccuracies are in various directions highly instructive.[41]

[39] Dio Cassius, lvi. 18; Aurel. Victor, *Epit.* 10: "Ut subiit pondus regium, Berenicen nuptias suas sperantem regredi domum . . . praecepit." Suetonius, *Titus*, 7: "Berenicen statim ab urbe dimisit, invitus invitam." —Aurelius Victor and Suetonius speak only of a dismissal of Berenice after the enthronement of Titus; for even in Suetonius "statim" can be understood only in this sense. But Dio Cassius clearly makes a distinction between the two occurrences: the involuntary dismissal before his succession to the throne, and the non-recognition of Berenice after that event.—On her travels between Palestine and Rome, Berenice seems to have gained for herself a certain position in Athens which the council and people of the Athenians have made memorable by the following inscription (*Corp. Inscr. Graec.* n. 361 = *Corp. Inscr. Atticarum*, iii. 1, n. 556; on the name Julia, see above, p. 162):—

Ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου καὶ
ἡ βουλὴ τῶν χ′ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἰου-
λίαν Βερενείκην βασίλισσαν
μεγάλην, Ἰουλίου Ἀγρίππα βασι-
λέως θυγατέρα καὶ μεγάλων
βασιλέων εὐεργετῶν τῆς πό-
λεως ἔκγονον . . .

[40] Josephus, *Life*, lxv.; *Against Apion*, i, 9.

[41] For the literature on the coins, see above, p. 192.—The real facts of the case are as follows. Besides the coins of the time of Nero (see in regard to them above, pp. 193–194) there are coins of Agrippa—(1) of the

According to the testimony of Justus of Tiberias,[42] Agrippa died in the third year of Trajan, in A.D. 100; and there is no reason for doubting the correctness of this statement, as

years of his reign, 14, 18, 26, 27, 29, with the inscription, Αὐτοκρά(τορι) Οὐεσπασι(ανῷ) Καίσαρι Σεβαστῷ; (2) of the years of Agrippa, 14, 18, 19, 20, 26, 27, 29, with the inscription, Αὐτοκρ(άτωρ) Τίτος Καῖσαρ Σεβασ(τός); (3) of the years of Agrippa, 14, 18, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 35, with the name of Domitian, and indeed down to the year 23 inclusive, only Δομιτιανὸς Καῖσαρ, in the year 24 with the addition Γερμανικός, in the year 35: Αὐτοκρά(τορα) Δομιτια(νον) Καίσαρα Γερμανι(κόν). For the fullest exhibition of the evidence, see Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881, pp. 148–159.—The agreement in the year numbers on the coins of all the three Flavians puts it beyond doubt that on all these coins the same era is employed. Hence Agrippa in his fourteenth year has had coins stamped at the same time bearing the name of Vespasian, Titus, Domitian. But the era used can only be that of A.D. 61, which is employed on the bilingual coins of Agrippa of the 25th and 26th years of his reign (= *Domitian. Cos.* xii., *i.e.* A.D. 86). Compare what is said above at p. 194. From these data the following results may be deduced: (1) The coins of the years 26, 27, and 29 were stamped after the deaths of Vespasian and Titus; nevertheless, in the title of both emperors the term "divus" is wanting, suppressed probably on religious grounds. (2) The coins of the years 14 and 18 were stamped while Vespasian was still living; nevertheless Titus is already called Σεβαστός. Thus, incorrect as it is, it indicates in a striking manner how Titus had already gained in the East a supreme position. He was regarded even then as practically co-regent. (3) The title given to Domitian is so far correct, since he is called on the coins of the years 14–19 only Καῖσαρ, and on the coins of the year 24 (= A.D. 84) bears the title Γερμανικός, which, as a matter of fact, he did receive in A.D. 84. On the other hand, it was a great mistake to omit the title of Σεβαστός, and in some instances also the title Αὐτοκράτωρ from the coins of the years 23–25, which all belong to the period of Domitian's reign, A.D. 83–95. The coins therefore show "that in Galilee they were not altogether *en rapport* with the mighty empire of this world" (Mommsen). Only the bilingual coins of the year 26 have the correct Latin title: "Imp(erator) Caes(ar) divi Vesp. f(ilius) Domitian(us) Au(gustus) Ger(manicus)."—Several numismatists, especially De Saulcy and Madden, partly at least in order to get rid of these results, have, in the most extremely arbitrary manner, assumed for these coins from three to four different eras. The correct point of view has in the most convincing manner been indicated by Mommsen (*Wiener Numismatische Zeitschrift*, iii. 1871, pp. 451–457).

[42] On Photius, *Bibliotheca*, *cod.* 33, see vol. i. of this present work, pp. 68–69.

Tillemont and many modern writers have done.[43] Agrippa, it would appear, left no children.[44] His kingdom was undoubtedly incorporated in the province of Syria.

[43] Tillemont, *Historie des empereurs*, t. i. (Venise 1732) pp. 646–648, note xli.; Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, Bd. ii., Anhang, p. 103 f.; Brann, *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1871, pp. 26–28; Grätz, *Monatsschrift für Gesch. u. Wissensch. des Jud.* 1877, pp. 337–352; Brüll, *Jahrbücher für jüdisch. Geschichte und Literatur*, vii., 1885, pp. 51–53.—The reason why some would reject altogether the report of Justus as given by Photius, while others would improve it by an alteration or modification of the text, is simply this, that it had been assumed that the Autobiography of Josephus was written immediately after his *Antiquities*, in A.D. 93 or 94. In that case then Agrippa must have died before the year 93; for when Josephus wrote his Autobiography, Agrippa was already dead (*Life*, lxv.). But that assumption is altogether untenable, since Josephus, at the end of the *Antiquities*, expresses his intention of continuing the work in another way than he afterwards actually did by appending the *Life*. On this question see vol. i. of this work, pp. 90–92.—The coins of Agrippa of the year 35 of his reign prove that, at least in A.D. 95, he was still alive. Compare in regard to the reckoning of the date, what is said in note 41. The inscription with the date ἔτους λζ' τοῦ καὶ λβ' βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα, if we fix the latter date at A.D. 61 (compare above at note 7), will bring us to A.D. 92–93.

[44] Whether he was married or not, we do not know. In the Talmud (*bab. Succa* 27*a*) the story is told of the steward of Agrippa putting a question to R. Elieser, which seems to imply that the questioner had two wives. Founding upon this, many assign to Agrippa two wives, assuming that the steward put the question in the name of the king. So, for instance, Derenbourg, *Historie de la Palestine*, pp. 252–254, and Brann, *Monatsschrift*, 1871, p. 13 f. There is, however, no sufficient foundation for such an assumption. See Grätz, *Monatsschrift*, 1881, p. 483 f.

§ 20. THE GREAT WAR WITH ROME, A.D. 66–73.

Sources.

Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14–vii.; *Life*, c. iv.–lxxiv. Zonaras, *Annales*, vi. 18–29 (summary from Josephus).—On the so-called Hegesippus, see above, vol. i. pp. 100–102.

On the non-extant works of Vespasian, Antonius Julianus, and Justus of Tiberias, see above, vol. i. pp. 63–69.

Rabbinical traditions in Derenbourg, pp. 255–295.

On the coins which possibly date from the period of this war, see Appendix IV.

Literature.

Ewald, *History of Israel*, vii. 486–616.

Milman, *History of the Jews*, books xiv., xv., xvi., xvii.

Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, 4 Aufl. iii. pp. 448–557.

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Schiller, *Geschichte des römischen Kaiserreiches unter der Regierung des Nero* (1872), pp. 205–261.—*Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Bd. i. 1883, pp. 381–400.

Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, Bd. v. 1885, pp. 529–540.

Lewin, *The Siege of Jerusalem by Titus*. With Journal of a recent Visit to the Holy City, and a general Sketch of the Topography of Jerusalem from the earliest Times down to the Siege. London 1863.—Compare *Gött. gel. Anzeiger*, 1864, p. 721 ff.—Also, Lewin, *Fasti sacri*, London 1865, pp. 338–362.

Morrison, *The Jews under the Romans*. In "History of the Nations" series. London 1890.

Champagny, *Rome et la Judée au temps de la chute de Néron* (ans 66–72 après Jésus-Christ), 2 éd. Paris 1865, t. i. pp. 195–254; t. ii. pp. 55–200.

De Saulcy, *Les derniers jours de Jérusalem*. Paris 1886. Compare, *Gött. gel. Anzeiger*, 1868, p. 899 ff.

1. The Outbreak and Triumph of the Revolution, A.D. 66.

The ostensible occasion for the outbreak of the long threatened revolt was given by a deed of Florus which was not in itself any worse than many others committed by him, but to the people proved more intolerable because it was at the same time an outrage upon their religious sensibilities. Whereas before he had visited only the citizens with his plunderings, he now ventured to lay his hands upon the treasury of the temple, and to abstract from it seventeen talents. The people's patience was thus tried beyond endurance. They now rose in a great tumult; a couple of sarcastic wits hit upon a plan for throwing contempt upon the greedy procurator by sending round baskets and collecting gifts for the poor and unfortunate Florus. When the governor heard of this he immediately resolved to take bloody vengeance upon those who had thus insulted him. With a detachment of soldiers he marched to Jerusalem, and in spite of the weeping entreaties of the high priests and the principal inhabitants, he gave over a portion of the city to be plundered by his soldiers. A large number of citizens, including among them even Roman knights of Jewish descent, were seized at random, put in fetters, and then crucified. Even the humble pleadings of Queen Berenice, who happened to be present in Jerusalem at that time, had no effect in moderating the fury of the procurator and his soldiers.[1]

This outrage was committed on the 16th Artemisios (Ijjar, May) of the year 66.[2]

On the day following Florus expressed the wish that the

[1] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 14. 6–9, 15. 1.

[2] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 15. 2; comp. ii. 14. 4; *Antiq.* xx. 11. 1 (in the twelfth year of Nero). Though Josephus uses the Macedonian names of the months we are really to understand by them the Jewish months, which only approximately correspond to the months of the Julian calendar. See further details in Appendix III.

citizens should go out to give a formal greeting to the two cohorts which were to enter the city from Caesarea, in order thereby to give a public proof of their submissiveness and of their penitent disposition. Although the people were not by any means inclined to do so, the high priests persuaded them to submit to this indignity lest something worse should befall them. In solemn procession the people went out to meet the two cohorts, and gave them a friendly greeting. But the soldiers, evidently guided by the instructions of Florus, refused to return their greeting. Then began the people to murmur, and to utter reproaches against Florus. The soldiers then seized their swords, and drove the people back amid incessant slaughter into the city. Then in the streets a violent conflict raged, in which the people succeeded in securing possession of the temple mount, and in cutting off the connection between it and the castle of Antonia. Florus could easily see that he was not strong enough to subdue the multitude by violence. He therefore withdrew to Caesarea, leaving behind only one cohort in Jerusalem, and announcing that he would hold the chief men of the city responsible for the quiet and order of the people.[3]

King Agrippa was at this time in Alexandria. When he heard of the disturbances he hastened to Jerusalem, summoned the people to an assembly on the Xystus, an open space in front of the palace of the Asmoneans, in which Agrippa resided, and from his palace addressed the people in a long and impressive speech, in order to urge them to abandon the utterly hopeless, and therefore unreasonable and disastrous struggle on which they were entering.[4] The people declared

[3] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 15. 3–6.

[4] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 16. 1–5; comp. 15. 1.—The statistical details about the Roman empire which Josephus has woven into this speech of Agrippa, were probably borrowed from an official publication. Compare Friedländer, *De fonte quo Josephus B. J.* ii. 16. 4 *usus sit. Regimonti* (*Index lectionum*), 1873.

themselves ready to return to their allegiance to the emperor They began again to build up the galleries between the temple mount and the Antonia, which they had torn down, and they collected the outstanding taxes. But when Agrippa insisted that they should again yield obedience to Florus, this was more than the people could endure. His proposals were rejected with contempt and scorn, and he was obliged to withdraw without accomplishing his purpose in his kingdom.[5]

Meanwhile the rebels had succeeded in gaining possession of the fortress of Masada. At the instigation of Eleasar, son of the high priest Ananias, it was now also resolved to discontinue the daily offering for the emperor, and no longer to admit of any offering by those who were not Jews. The refusal to offer a sacrifice for the emperor was equivalent to an open declaration of revolt against the Romans. All attempts of the principal men, among the chief priests as well as among the Pharisees, to induce the people to recall this foolhardy resolution were in vain. They firmly adhered to the decision to which they had come.[6]

When the members of the peace party, to which, as might be expected, all discerning and judicious men belonged,—the high priests, the most distinguished of the Pharisees, those related to the house of Herod,—perceived that they were incapable of accomplishing any good, they resolved to have recourse to violent measures. They accordingly made application for assistance to King Agrippa. He sent a detachment of 3000 cavalry under the command of Darius and Philip, by whose help the peace party gained possession of the upper city, while the rebels continued to hold the temple mount and the lower city. A bitter strife now arose between the

[5] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 17. 1.

[6] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 17. 2–4.—On the fortress of Masada, see below at the end of this section.—On the daily sacrifice offered for the emperor, see the Second Division of the present work, vol. i. pp. 302–304.

two parties; but the royal troops were not strong enough to withstand the violent rage of the multitude, and were obliged to evacuate the upper city. In order to take vengeance upon their opponents, the rebels set fire to the palaces of the high priest Ananias, of King Agrippa, and Berenice.[7]

A few days after this, in the month Loos, that is, Ab or August, they also succeeded in storming the citadel of Antonia, and then they began to lay siege to the upper palace, that of Herod, in which the troops of the peace party had taken refuge. Here, too, it was impossible for the besieged to offer any effectual resistance. Consequently the troops of Agrippa were only too glad to submit on the condition of being allowed to pass out unhurt. The Roman cohorts had betaken themselves to the three strong towers of the palace, known respectively by the names Hippicus, Phasael, and Mariamme, while all the rest of the palace was, on 6th Gorpiaios, that is, Elul or September, set on fire by the rebels.[8] On the following day the high priest Ananias, who had hitherto kept himself concealed, was apprehended in his hiding-place and put to death.[9] The solitary feeble support which still remained to the peace party, was that of the Roman cohorts besieged in the three towers of the palace of Herod. These, too, were obliged at last to yield to the

[7] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 17. 4–6.—The troops sent by Agrippa were *ὑπὸ Δαρείῳ μὲν ἱππάρχῳ, στρατηγῷ δὲ τῷ Ἰακίμου Φιλίππῳ* (*Wars of the Jews*, ii. 17. 4 *fin.*). Philip was therefore the commander-in-chief. He was grandson of the Babylonian Zamaris, who in the time of Herod the Great had founded a Jewish colony in Batanea (*Antiq.* xvii. 2. 3). Compare on him also, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 20. 1, iv. 1. 10; *Life*, xi., xxxv., xxxvi., lxxiv.—On an inscription communicated by Waddington mention is made of a *Δομήδης [Δ]αρήιος ἔπαρχος βασιλέως μεγάλου Ἀγρίππα* (Le Bas et Waddington, *Inscriptions*, iii. n. 2135), who is probably identical with our Derius.

[8] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 17. 7–8; comp. v. 4. 4.—The leader of Agrippa's troops, Philip, was subsequently called to account for his conduct (Josephus, *Life*, lxxiv.).

[9] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 17. 9.

superior power of the people. Upon laying down their arms they were allowed to walk out uninjured. But the rebels, who were now masters of the whole city, celebrated their victory by general slaughter. The Roman soldiers were scarcely gone, leaving their weapons behind them, when they were treacherously fallen upon by the Jews, and were cut down to the last man.[10]

While thus the triumph of the revolution in Jerusalem was decided, bloody conflicts took place also in many other cities, where Jews and Gentiles dwelt together, especially within the borders of Palestine. Wherever the Jews were in the majority, they cut down their Gentile fellow-townsmen; and where the Gentiles predominated, they fell upon the Jews. The influence of the revolt in the mother country spread even as far as Alexandria.[11]

At last, after long delay and preparation, Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, entered upon negotiations for the quieting of the disturbances in Judea. With the twelfth legion, 2000 chosen men from other legions, six cohorts, and four *alae* of cavalry, besides numerous auxiliary troops which the friendly kings, including Agrippa, had been obliged to place at his disposal, he started from Antioch, marched through Ptolemais, Caesarea, Antipatris, Lydda, where he arrived at the time of the Feast of Tabernacles in the month Tizri or October, and finally through Beth-horon to Gabao or Gibeon, 50 stadia from Jerusalem, and there pitched his camp.[12] A sally made by the Jews from Jeru-

[10] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 17. 10. Compare *Megillath Taanith*, § 14: "On the 17th Elul the Romans withdrew from Judea and Jerusalem" (Derenbourg, pp. 443, 445; Hitzig, ii. p. 600).

[11] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 18. 1–8; *Life*, vi.

[12] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 18. 9–10, 19. 1.—Γαβαώ is the Gibeon often referred to in the Old Testament, identified with El-Jeb north-west of Jerusalem. See Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, art. "Gibeon;" Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, vol. ii. pp. 136–138; Guérin, *Judee*, i. 385–391.

salem put the Roman army into a position of great danger, but was at last driven back.[13] Cestius then advanced nearer to the city, and laid siege to the so-called Scopus, 7 stadia from Jerusalem. Four days later, on the 30th Hyperberetaios, that is, Tizri or October, he took possession unopposed of the northern suburb Bezetha, and set it on fire.[14] But when he ventured upon the bolder task of storming the temple mount his enterprise failed. He thereupon desisted from all further attempts, and began to withdraw without accomplishing his object.[15] Josephus is unable to explain the causes of this procedure. Probably Cestius perceived that his forces were insufficient for making an attack with any hope of success upon the well fortified and courageously defended city. With what determination and with what dauntless resolution the struggle was carried forward on the part of the Jews, was now to be proved to the Roman governor on his retreat. In a ravine near Beth-horon, through which he was pursuing his journey, he found himself surrounded on every side by the Jews, and attacked with such force, that his homeward march was turned into a flight. Only by leaving behind him a great part of his baggage, including much valuable war material, which subsequently proved of great service to the Jews, did he succeed in reaching Antioch with a fragment of his army. Amid

[13] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 19. 2.

[14] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 19. 4.—Scopus is also referred to in *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 19. 7, v. 2. 3, 3. 2; *Antiq.* xi. 8. 5: εἰς τόπον τινὰ Σαφὶν [so the best manuscripts read] λεγόμενον· τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τοῦτο μεταφερόμενον εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν γλῶτταν Σκοπὸν [so the best manuscripts] σημαίνει. צָפִין is the Aramaic form for צוֹפִים, as the place is called in Mishna, *Pesachim* iii. 8. Compare also Lightfoot, *Centuria Matthaeo praemissa*, c. 42 (*Opera*, ii. 202). From this point a beautiful view of the city was obtained (*Antiq.* xi. 8. 5; *Wars of the Jews*, v. 2. 3).—The suburb Bezetha is also referred to in *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 15. 5, v. 4. 2, 5. 8. It is the most northerly suburb included by the so-called wall of Agrippa (*Wars of the Jews*, v. 4. 2).

[15] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 19. 5–7.

great rejoicings the returning conquerors entered Jerusalem on the 8th Dios, that is, Marchesvan or November.[16]

In presence of the excitement caused by victory which now prevailed in Jerusalem all peace counsels were forcibly silenced. After such decisive successes no proposals of compromise would be listened to. Even those inclined to oppose were driven along by the course of events. Those who were inalienably attached to the Romans left the city. All the rest were drawn into their own ranks by the rebels, partly by force, partly by persuasion (*τοὺς μὲν βίᾳ τοὺς δὲ πειθοῖ*).[17] They now set about organizing the rebellion in a regular methodical fashion, and made preparations for the expected onslaught of the Romans. It is distinctively characteristic of the later period of the war that the men who now had the power in their hands belonged exclusively to the higher ranks. The chief priests, the most distinguished of the Pharisees, were those who directed the organization of the land defences. An assembly of the people, which was held in the temple, made choice of commanders for the provinces. Two men, Joseph, son of Gorion, and the high priest Ananus, were entrusted with the defence of the capital. To Idumea they sent Jesus, son of Sapphias, and Eleasar, son of Ananias, both belonging to the high priestly family. Nearly all the eleven toparchies into which Judea was divided had their own commanders. Finally, to Galilee was sent Josephus, son of Matthias, the future historian.[18]

There is no doubt but that the youthful Josephus had

[16] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 19. 7–9.

[17] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 20. 1–3.

[18] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 20. 3–4; *Life*, vii. In the latter passage Josephus is impudent enough to declare that the purpose for which he was sent was to pacify Galilee (compare also, *Life*, xiv.).—As had been already shown, the conduct of the revolt was in the hands of the people of Jerusalem (*τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν*, *Life*, xii., xiii., xxxviii., xlix., lii., lx., lxv., lxx.), and as their representative the Sanhedrim (*τὸ συνέδριον τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν*, *Life*, xii.).

thus one of the most difficult and most responsible positions assigned to him, for it was just in Galilee that the first attack of the Romans might be expected. Great results could scarcely be looked for in the conducting of warlike operations from a young man only thirty years of age; and he owed his appointment certainly less to his military capacities than to his friendship with the most distinguished personages. It was indeed a strange proceeding to send a young man, who in addition to his natural ability could at most only point to his rabbinical learning, to enlist an army with all haste from among the peaceful inhabitants of Galilee, and with it to hold his ground against the attack of veteran legions and circumvent the tactics of experienced generals! If we are to believe his own account, he set himself at least with zeal to the solving of the insoluble problem. For the governing of Galilee he appointed, in imitation of the Sanhedrim of Jerusalem, a council of seventy men, which had to decide on difficult points of law; while for less important disputes he established in every city a council of seven men.[19] He intended to prove his zeal for the law by destroying the palace of Tiberias, which, contrary to the law, was adorned with animal images; but in this he was anticipated by the revolutionary party.[20] The military part of his task he endeavoured to carry out specially by strengthening the fortifications of the cities. All the more important cities of Galilee, Jotapata, Tarichea, Tiberias, Sepphoris, Gischala, Mount Tabor, also Gamala in Gaulanitis, and many smaller towns were put more or less in a condition of defence.[21] But with special pride he boasts of his labours

[19] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 20. 5; *Life*, xiv.

[20] Josephus, *Life*, xii.

[21] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 20. 6; *Life*, xxxvii. Compare in addition: Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvi. 757–771; Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, vol. ii. p. 387.—Among the above-named seven important places Sepphoris never took the side of the revolution, but, so long as it was without

in organizing the army. He sought to bring together no less than 100,000 men, and to have them drilled after the Roman style.[22]

While Josephus thus prepared for war with the Romans, a violent opposition arose against him in his own province, which even went the length of openly drawing the sword upon him. The soul of this hostile movement was John of Gischala, a bold, reckless party leader, who was filled with glowing hatred toward the Romans, and had resolved to carry on the struggle against them to the uttermost. But while he had sworn death and destruction to the tyrants, he was himself no less of a tyrant within his own circle. It was intolerable to him to brook the idea of having others over him. Least of all could he yield obedience to Josephus, whose tame method of conducting the war seemed to him no better than friendship for the Romans. Hence he used every endeavour to get the man so hateful to him set aside, and to withdraw the allegiance of the people of Galilee from him.[23] His suspicion of Josephus was indeed not altogether without

Roman protection, assumed a vacillating position, hence even expending care on its fortifications; and then, so soon as Roman troops were available, taking sides with them. For further details, see Div. II., vol. i. p. 136.—Of the other six cities or fortresses, three, Tarichea, Tiberias, and Gamala, belonged to the territory of King Agrippa, and in part also joined the side of the revolution only after internal conflicts. See particularly on Tiberias, Div. II. vol. i. p. 143 f.; on Gamala, the present vol. p. 200.—Gischala took up a distinct position of its own, for there, John, son of Levi, the celebrated revolutionary hero of a later period, assumed to himself the government. He was dissatisfied with the lukewarm attitude of Josephus, and so refused to make over to him the fortress of the city, but took the command of it himself (*Wars of the Jews*, ii. 20. 6; *Life*, x., xxxviii.). See especially on the attitude of Gischala, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 21. 7. 10; *Life*, x., xiii., xvi.-xviii., xx., xxv., xxxviii.—All the seven places here mentioned will be again referred to in the history of the rearrangement of Galilee by the Romans. See references to them also in geographical works.

[22] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 20. 6–8.

[23] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 21. 1–2; *Life*, xiii.

foundation. Josephus knew the Romans too well to entertain the notion that the rebellion could be really and finally successful. He was therefore necessarily only half-hearted in the business which he had undertaken, and sometimes unwittingly allowed this to appear. On one occasion certain youths from the village of Dabaritta had robbed an official of King Agrippa, and taken rich spoil. Josephus caused them to hand back what they had taken, and intended, if we may believe his own account of the affair, to restore them to the king on the first favourable opportunity. When the people perceived that this was his intention, the suspicion which John of Gischala had insinuated against him was increased, and now broke out into open rebellion. In Tarichea, where Josephus had his residence, a great tumult was made. They threatened the life of the traitor. Only by the most miserable and degrading self-humiliation and the exercise of low cunning could Josephus ward off the threatened danger.[24] Some time later at Tiberias, he escaped the assassins sent against him by John of Gischala only by precipitate flight.[25] At last John carried matters so far that he was able to obtain in Jerusalem a resolution to recall Josephus. Four of the most distinguished men were sent for this purpose to Galilee, accompanied by a detachment of soldiers numbering 2500 men, in order to carry out this decision by force if necessary. But Josephus knew how to frustrate the execution of this decree, and the four ambassadors were again recalled. When they refused compliance with that summons, he had them apprehended and sent them back to Jerusalem. The inhabitants of Tiberias who continued in revolt were subjugated by force, and thus for the time peace was restored.[26]

[24] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 21. 3–5; *Life*, xxvi.–xxx.

[25] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 21. 6; *Life*, xvi.–xviii.

[26] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 21. 7; *Life*, xxxviii.–lxiv., especially xxxviii.–xl., lx.–lxiv

When, a few days later, the inhabitants of Tiberias again rose in revolt,—now, indeed, in favour of Agrippa and the Romans,—they were overcome once more by craft.[27]

Meanwhile in Jerusalem they were by no means inactive. There, too, they were making preparations for meeting the Romans. The walls were strengthened, war material of all sorts was collected, the youth were exercised in the use of arms.[28]

Amid such preparations the spring of A.D. 67 came round, and with it the time when the attack of the Romans was expected, and the young republic would have to pass through its fiery ordeal.

2. The War in Galilee, A.D. 67.

The Emperor Nero had received in Achaia the news of the defeat of Cestius.[29]. Since the continuance of the war could not have been committed to the defeated general,—he seems indeed soon afterwards to have died,[30]—the difficult task of putting down the Jewish rebellion was made over to the well-proved hands of Vespasian. During winter Vespasian

[27] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 21. 8–10; *Life*, xxxii.–xxxiv.—In his autobiography (lxviii.–lxix.), Josephus relates that the πρῶτοι τῆς βουλῆς of Tiberias once at a later period sent entreating Agrippa for a garrison.—Tiberias, as might be expected from its mixed population, and as is expressly declared in the *Life*, ix., was in its sympathies partly Roman, partly anti-Roman, so that it is found sometimes in league with King Agrippa, sometimes in league with John of Gischala. On its precise position, however, it is difficult to say anything with confidence, since the statements in Josephus' autobiography are all made with a purpose. On the general question, see Div. I. vol. i. 143; and on Justus of Tiberias, see present work, vol. i. pp. 65–69.

[28] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 22. 1.

[29] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 20. 1, iii. 1. 1.

[30] "Fato aut taedio occidit," says Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 10.—In the winter of A.D. 66–67, Cestius Gallus was still in the province. See Josephus, *Life*, viii., xliii., lxv., lxvii., lxxi.

still pushed forward the preparations for the campaign. While he himself went to Antioch and there marshalled his army, he sent his son Titus to Alexandria, in order that he might bring to him from thence the fifteenth legion.[31] So soon as the season of the year allowed, he marched from Antioch and advanced to Ptolemais, where he meant to await the arrival of Titus. But before Titus reached that place, ambassadors from the Galilean city of Sepphoris appeared before Vespasian and besought him to give them a Roman garrison.[32] Vespasian hasted to comply with their

[31] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 1. 2–3.—According to the common text of *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 1. 3, Titus was to have brought two legions from Alexandria, τό τε πέμπτον καὶ τὸ δέκατον. But of the return of Titus to Vespasian it is said, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 4. 2 : καὶ ἐκεῖ (supply "to Ptolemais") καταλαβὼν τὸν πατέρα, δυσὶ τοῖς ἅμα αὐτῷ τάγμασιν, ἦν δὲ τὰ ἐπισημότατα τὸ πέμπτον καὶ τὸ δέκατον, ζεύγνυσι καὶ τὸ ἀχθὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεντεκαιδέκατον. This can only mean that to the two legions which he found with his father, the 5th and the 10th, he added the 15th, which was with him. With this also agrees the fact that Titus, according to Suetonius, *Tit.* iv., was during the war commander of one legion (*legioni praepositus*), that is, of the 15th. Accordingly the corrected reading in *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 1. 3 will be : τὸ πεντεκαιδέκατον. So Renier, *Mémoires de l'Académie des inscript. et belles-lettres*, t. xxvi. 1, p. 298, note 8.—Mommsen insists (*Römische Geschichte*, v. 533) that the Alexandria referred to here is not the celebrated Egyptian city, but the Alexandria situated on the Gulf of Issus. So, too, Pick in Sallet's *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, xiii. 1885, p. 200. Mommsen's chief argument is "because the land march from Alexandria on the Nile to Ptolemais through the revolted district in the beginning of the Jewish war could not be that intended by Josephus." But of the coast cities only Joppa was among the insurgents, and even the case of Azotus and Jamnia is doubtful. See Div. II. vol. i. pp. 76–79. To march along by such a course was by no means so dangerous for a Roman army that Josephus would have been obliged to call attention to this. On the other hand, the "Alexandria" of the *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 1. 3, 4. 2, is quite evidently the Egyptian. Any other Alexandria would have been more particularly distinguished by some epithet.

[32] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 2. 4.—Sepphoris had even before the arrival of Vespasian possessed a Roman garrison (*Life*, lxxi. ; *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 2. 4). Whether this garrison had meanwhile been withdrawn, or was now only relieved or strengthened, is not quite clear. Compare Div. II. vol. i. p. 136.

request. A detachment of 6000 men under the leadership of Placidus was sent as a garrison to the city. Thus were the Romans, without drawing a sword, in possession of one of the most important and one of the strongest points in Galilee.[33] Soon after this Titus arrived with his one legion. The army now at the disposal of Vespasian consisted of 3 distinct legions, the fifth, tenth, and fifteenth, 23 auxiliary cohorts, 6 *alae* of cavalry, besides the auxiliary troops of King Agrippa, of King Antiochus of Commagene, of Soemus of Emesa, and of Malchus of Arabia: in all comprising somewhere about 60,000 men.[34]

When all arrangements had been made, Vespasian advanced from Ptolemais and pitched his camp on the borders of Galilee. Josephus had before this set his camp at the village of Garis, twenty stadia from Sepphoris (*Life*, lxxi.), in order that he might there wait the attack of the Romans. The warlike qualities of his army were soon shown in a very doubtful light. When it became known that Vespasian was approaching, the majority of the Jewish troops became utterly dispirited, even before they had so much as come face to face with the Romans; they fled hither and thither; and Josephus found himself obliged to hasten with the remnant to Tiberias.[35] Without drawing a sword, Vespasian had thus obtained possession of the lowlands of Galilee. Only the strongholds now remained for him to take.

Josephus soon held communication with Jerusalem, and insisted that if they wished the war to be carried on they should send an army able to cope with the Romans, a petition which now indeed came too late.[36] The most of the

[33] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 4. 1; *Life*, lxxiv.—On Placidus, who had been in Galilee previous to the arrival of Vespasian, see also *Life*, xliii.

[34] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 4. 2.

[35] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 6. 2–3.

[36] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 7. 2.

army of Josephus had taken refuge in the strong fortress of Jotapata.[37] Even he himself entered that stronghold on the 21st (?) Artemisios, that is, Ijjar or May, so as to conduct the defence in his own person.[38] On the evening of the immediately following day, Vespasian with his army appeared before the city; and then began the celebrated siege of the certainly not unimportant stronghold, described with a self-glorifying amplitude of details by Josephus. The first attack led to no result. It was found necessary to have recourse to a regular siege. An obstinate struggle made the issue for some time doubtful. What on the one side was accomplished by art and the experience of war, was accomplished on the other by the courage of despair and the skill of the commander-in-chief. For although Josephus was indeed no general in the proper sense of the word, he was a past master in little tricks and stratagem. With profound satisfaction the vain man tells how he deceived the Roman generals as to the scarcity of water in the city by making his soldiers hang their clothes dripping with water over the battlements. He also tells how he managed to procure supplies of food by sending his men out by night clothed in the skins of beasts, so that they might

[37] Jotapata appears in the Mishna in the form יודפת (*Arachin* ix. 6; the Cambridge manuscript has יוסף with *Resh*, but the *editio princeps* and the *cod. de Rossi*, 138: יודפת, Jodaphath, also Aruch ידפת with *Daleth*). It is there spoken of as an ancient city, which had been, even in Joshua's time, surrounded with walls. Compare also: Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, p. 203 sq.—Its situation has been again discovered in 1847 by E. G. Schultz, in the modern Jefat, due north of Sepphoris. See E. G. Schultz, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, Bd. iii. 1849, pp. 49 ff., 59 ff.; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvi. 764–768; Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, iii. p. 105; Guérin, *Galilée*, i. 476–487; *The Survey of Western Palestine*, Memoirs by Conder and Kitchener, i. 289, 311–313; and also Sheet V. of the Large English Map. On the siege, compare also: Parent, *Siège de Jotapata*, 1866 (quoted by Renan *Der Antichrist*, p. 220).

[38] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 7. 3.—Since, according to *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 7. 33 and 8. 9, the siege lasted forty-seven days, and according to *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 7. 36, it ended on the 1st of Panemos, the date 21st Artemisios cannot be correct.

pass by the Roman sentinels. He further relates how he broke the force of the battering-ram upon the wall by throwing out bags filled with chaff; how he had boiling oil thrown upon the soldiers, or boiling fenugreek poured on the boards of the scaling ladders, so that those advancing on them slipped and fell back. But neither by such arts nor by the boldness of the sallies, in one of which Vespasian himself was wounded, could the fate of the city be averted. After the besieged had endured the utmost extremity of suffering, a deserter betrayed the secret, that in consequence of fatigue the very sentinels could no longer keep themselves awake till the morning. The Romans made use of this information. With perfect stillness, Titus one morning with a small detachment scaled the wall, cut down the sleeping watch, and pressed into the city. The legions followed in his track, and the outwitted garrison were aware of the entrance of the Romans only when they no longer had power to drive them back. All without exception who fell into the hands of the Romans, armed and unarmed, men and women, were ruthlessly slain or carried off as slaves; the city and its fortifications were levelled with the dust. It was on the 1st of the month Panemos, that is, Thamuz or July, A.D. 67, when this most important fortress of Galilee fell into the hands of the Romans.[39]

Josephus with forty companions had taken refuge in a well which discharged itself into a cave. When he was discovered there, he was willing to surrender to the Romans, but was prevented doing so by his companions. These only offered him the choice of dying along with them, either by their hand or by his own. By some sort of stratagem, having persuaded them that they should fall upon one another in the order determined by the lot, and having by the fortune of the lot been himself reserved to the last, Josephus managed to extricate himself from their hands, and having made his escape,

[39] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 7. 4–36.

surrendered himself to the Romans.[40] When he was brought before Vespasian, he assumed the role of a prophet, and prophesied to the general his future elevation as emperor. This had for him at least this result, that although kept prisoner, he was dealt with in a generous manner.[41]

On the fourth day of Panemos, Vespasian advanced from Jotapata and marched next past Ptolemais to Caesarea, where he allowed the troops some rest.[42] While the soldiers were refreshing themselves after the exertions of the siege, the general paid a visit to the friendly King Agrippa at Caesarea Philippi, and took part there in extravagant festivities lasting

[40] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 8. 1–8.

[41] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 8. 9; Dio Cassius, lxvi. 1; Suetonius, *Vespasian*, c. 5. According to Zonaras, *Annales*, xi. 16, Appian also in the twenty-second book of his *Roman History* tells of the saying of the Jewish oracle with reference to Vespasian.—Our older scholars have earnestly investigated the story of Josephus' prophetic gift. Compare Olearius, *Fl. Josephi de Vespasianis ad summum imperii fastigium advehendis vaticinium*, 1699; Strohbach, *de Josepho Vespasiano imperium praedicente*, Lips. 1748. There may be some truth in the story. Probably Josephus has wittingly construed a couple of general phrases into a formal prophecy. It is noteworthy the rabbinical tradition ascribes this same prophecy to Rabbi Jochanan ben Saccai. See Derenbourg, p. 282.—Upon this Holwerda (*Verslagen en Mededeelingen der koninkl. Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde, Tweede Reeks deel*, ii. 1872, p. 137 sq.) has made the remark that similar oracles were addressed to Titus and Vespasian by heathen priests. Thus Sostratus, the priest of Aphrodite at Paphos in Cyprus, revealed the future to Titus in secret conference when he inquired of the oracle there and sought for favourable omens (Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 4: "petito secreto futura aperit." Still more distinctly, Suetonius, *Titus*, c. 5: "aditoque Paphiae Veneris oraculo, dum de navigatione consulit, etiam de imperii spe confirmatus est"). The priest Basilides on Carmel declared to Vespasian on the ground of the sacrificial signs: "quidquid est, Vespasiane, quod paras, seu domum extruere seu prolatare agros sive ampliare servitia, datur tibi magna sedes, ingentes termini, multum hominum" (Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 78. Compare Suetonius, *Vespasian*, c. 5: "Apud Judaeam Carmeli dei oraculum consulentem ita confirmavere sortes, ut quidquid cogitaret volveretque animo quamlibet magnum, id esse proventurum pollicerentur"). These heathen oracles, however, belong to a later period than the one referred to by Josephus.

[42] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 9. 1.

for twenty days. He then sent the legions by Titus from Caesarea by the sea and marched against Tiberias, where, at the sight of the Roman army, the people of their own accord opened their gates, and for Agrippa's sake received honourable treatment.[43] From this point Vespasian pursued his way onward to Tarichea.[44] By a bold stroke of Titus,

[43] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 9. 7–8.

[44] Ταριχέαι or Ταριχέα (both forms of spelling are met with) had its name from the curing of fish which was carried on there (Strabo, xvi. 2. 45, p. 764). It is first mentioned in the time of Cassius, who, during this first administration of Syria in B.C. 52–51, took the city by force of arms (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 7. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 8. 9), and, during his second administration, again visited it. He wrote to Cicero in B.C. 43, "ex castris Taricheis," *Cicero ad Familieres*, xii. 11.—According to Josephus, *Life*, xxxii., it lay thirty stadia from Tiberias; according to *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 10. 1, it was situated upon the lake of Gennezaret at the foot of a hill (ὑπόρειος); according to Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 15. 11, it lay at the south end of the lake (*a meridie Tarichea*). It is therefore to be sought on the site or in the neighbourhood of the present Kerak where the Jordan emerges from the lake. Thus Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, ii. 387; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xv. 1. 344 ff.; Cless in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, vi. 2, 1602 ff.; Caspari, *Chronological and Geographical Introduction to the Life of Christ*, p. 78; Conder, *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statements*, 1878, pp. 190–192; Guérin, *Galilée*, i. 275–280; Kasteren, *Zeitschrift des DPV.* xi. 1888, pp. 215 ff., 241 ff.—Many recent writers are of opinion that the statements of Josephus require us to seek Tarichea to the north of Tiberias, somewhere about the site of the present Mejdel. So Quandt, *Judäa und die Nachbarschaft*, 1873, p. 107 f.; Wilson, *Quarterly Statements*, 1877, 10–13; Kitchener, *Quarterly Statements*, 1878, p. 79; Furrer, *Zeitschrift des DPV.* ii. 1879, pp. 55–57, xii. 1889, pp. 145–148; Grätz, *Monatsschrift für Gesch. und Wissensch. des Judenthums*, 1880, pp. 484–487; Spiess, *Zeitschrift des DPV.* viii. 1885, pp. 95–99; Frei, *Zeitschrift des DPV.* ix. 1886, pp. 103–108; Öhlmann, *Die Fortschritte der Ortskunde von Palästina*, 1 Thl. (Norden 1887, Progr.) pp. 12–14. But the course of Vespasian's march described by Josephus by no means proves that Tarichea lay to the north of Tiberias. Vespasian evidently went from Scythopolis, therefore from the south, to Tiberias (*Wars of the Jews*, iii. 9. 7). But there is no ground for supposing that he continued his march from thence still in a northerly direction. Rather after occupying Tiberias, he pitched his camp at Emmaus "between Tiberias and Tarichea," as appears from a comparison of *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 1. 3 with iii. 10. 1. But seeing that the warm springs of Emmaus to this day lie south of Tiberias, it is evident that Vespasian, after the occupation of

this city also fell into the hands of the Romans in the beginning of the month Gorpiaios, that is, Elul or September.[45]

In Galilee there now remained in the hands of the rebels only Gischala and Mount Tabor (Itabyrion), and in Gaulanitis the important and strongly fortified Gamala.[46] To the last-

Tiberias, again turned toward the south. It is thus really established by the statements of Josephus that Tarichea lay to the south of Tiberias. Those who place Tarichea to the north of Tiberias must also place Emmaus north of Tiberias, and then in consistency they must deny the identity of the Emmaus referred to by Josephus and the modern Hammam, which must nevertheless be regarded as a certain fact.

[45] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 10. Suetonius, *Titus*, 4, ascribes to Titus the conquest of Tarichea and Gamala; the latter incorrectly.—After Tarichea had been taken by surprise, a portion of the inhabitants endeavoured to make their escape in a boat out upon the lake. Vespasian caused them to be pursued on rafts, and the fugitives all met their death, either by the sword or in the water. It has been conjectured that this is the "Victoria navalis," which was celebrated by coins or medals, and in the triumphal procession was made noticeable by a ship (*Wars of the Jews*, vii. 5. 5: πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ νῆες εἵποντο). Compare Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* vi. 330; Stange, *De Titi imperat. vita* (1870), p. 22. On the medals, see Cohen, *Médailles impérailes*, ed. 2, t. i. 1880, p. 417 sq., n. 632–639 (Vespasianus), p. 460, n. 386–390 (Titus) p. 522 sq. n. 636–638 (Domitian); Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 223.

[46] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 1. 1.—Gamala (גַּמְלָא) is mentioned in the Mishna, *Arachin* ix. 6, among the cities which are said to have been surrounded with walls from the days of Joshua. Its existence is historically demonstrable from the time of Alexander Jannaeus (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 15. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 4. 8). According to the *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 1. 1, it lay opposite Tarichea in Lower Gaulanitis, therefore east of the Lake of Gennezaret. But any more particular determination of its site cannot now be given. The conjecture that it is identical with el-Hösn is not quite certain, still less can the notion recently favoured by many be maintained, that it was situated farther to the north. Furrer's conjecture is also improbable, that it is to be sought in the present Jamli on the eastern bank of the Nahr er-rukkad, a day's journey east of the Lake of Gennezaret. Compare Schumacher's map of Golan in the *Zeitschrift des DPV.* ix. 1886. If it lay at such a distance from the lake, Josephus would not have been able to describe it as a πόλις Ταριχεῶν ἀντικρυς ὑπὲρ τὴν λίμνην κειμένη (*Wars of the Jews*, iv. 1. 1). Compare generally: Furrer, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, ii. 1879, pp. 70–72, xii. 1889, pp. 148–151; Guérin, *Galilée*, i. 317–321; Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, 1881, pp. 161, 164, 168; Gildemeister, *Zeitschrift des*

named place Vespasian next directed his attention. The siege appeared soon to be successful. The Romans succeeded in storming the walls and forcing an entrance into the city. But there they encountered such bitter resistance that they were forced to retire with very heavy loss. The repulse was so severe that it required all Vespasian's influence and reputation to restore again the courage of the soldiers. At last, on the 23rd Hyperberetaios, that is, Tizri or October, the Romans again forced their way into the city, and were this time successful in making themselves complete masters of the situation.[47] During the siege of Gamala the Mount Tabor (Itabyrion) was also taken by a detachment sent thither.[48]

Vespasian gave over the reducing of Gischala to Titus with a detachment of 1000 cavalry. He himself led the 5th and 15th legions into winter quarters at Caesarea, while he placed the 10th at Scythopolis.[49] Titus made light work of Gischala. On the second day after his appearing before the walls of the city, the citizens of their own accord opened the gates to him, John having secretly, during the previous night, with his Zealot comrades quitted the city and fled to Jerusalem.[50]

DPV. viii. 242 f., and with it, ix. 358–360; Frei, *Zeitschrift des DPV* ix. 120 ff.; Kasteren, *Zeitschrift des DPV.* xi. 220–225. The position of el-Hösn is minutely described; Schumacher, *Zeitschrift des DPV.* ix. 327 ff., with plan and map.

[47] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 1. 2–10.

[48] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 1. 8.—On the position of Tabor and its history, see Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, iii. 223, 224; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xv. 1. 391–404; Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, art. "Thabor;" Guérin, *Galilée*, i. 143–163; *The Survey of Western Palestine*, Memoirs by Conder and Kitchener, i. 358 ff., 388 ff. (with plan, i. 388); together with Sheet VI. of the large English Map.

[49] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 2. 1.

[50] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 2. 2–5.—Gischala is in the Hebrew Gush-Chalab, גוש חלב, and is also mentioned in the Mishna among the cities which from the time of Joshua were surrounded with walls (*Arachin*

Thus by the end of A.D. 67 was the whole of the north of Palestine brought again into subjection to the Romans.

3. From the Subjugation of Galilee to the Siege of Jerusalem, A.D. 68–69.

The unfortunate results of the first year of the war determined the fate of the leaders of the rebellion. On the part of the fanatical section of the people, and not without cause, the unfavourable turn that events had taken was attributed to the lack of energy in the mode of conducting the war hitherto. The men of the people therefore set themselves with all their might to get the reins into their own hands, and to set aside those who had been in command. And since these would not of their own accord withdraw, a fearfully bloody civil war, accompanied by acts of horrid cruelty, broke out during the winter of A.D. 67–68 in Jerusalem, which in its atrocities can only be compared to the first French revolution.

The head of the fanatical popular party, or, as they called themselves, the Zealots, was John of Gischala. After he had escaped the hands of Titus by flight, he went with his followers, in the beginning of November A.D. 67, to Jerusalem,

ix. 6). Its name signifies "fat or rich clod." In fact, it yielded abundance of oil (Josephus, *Life*, xiii.; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 21. 2; *Tosefta Menachoth* ix. 5; *Bab. Menachoth* 85*b*; Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, p. 230 sq.). In the Jewish traditions of the Middle Ages it was famous for its graves of Rabbis and its ancient synagogue (Carmoly, *Itinéraires de la Terre-Sainte*, 1847, pp. 133 sq., 156, 184, 262, 380, 452 sq.).—It lay in the neigbourhood of the territory of Tyre (*Wars of the Jews*, iv. 2. 3 *fin.*), and is undoubtedly to be identified with the present Eljish in Northern Galilee, somewhere about the same geographical latitude with the southern end of the Merom lake. Of the ancient synagogue there are still ruins to be found there. See generally: Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvi. 770 f.; Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 778–780; Guérin, *Galilée*, ii. 94–100; *The Survey of Western Palestine*, Memoirs by Conder and Kitchener, i. 198, 224–226, and with it Sheet IV. of the large English Map.

and sought to win over the people to himself and to rekindle in their breasts a determination to continue the war in a bolder and more resolute spirit. He readily succeeded in gaining over the youth to his side. And since now on all hands the war-loving rabble from the country poured into the city, the party of the Zealots was soon in the ascendency.[51] They next proceeded to set aside those who were suspected of friendship for the Romans. Several of the most distinguished men, among them Antipas, who belonged to the family of Herod, were put under arrest, and were murdered in prison.[52] Their next proceeding was to choose a new high priest by lot, for those who had held the office up to this time all belonged to the aristocratic party. The newly-elected high priest, Phannias of Aphtha, was not indeed in the least degree acquainted with the duties of the high priest's office. But he was a man of the people, and that was the main thing.[53]

The men of order, Gorion, son of Joseph,[54] the famous Pharisee Simon, son of Gamaliel,[55] the two high priests, Ananus, son of Ananus, and Jesus, son of Gamaliel, sought on their part to resist the Zealots by force. They exhorted the people to put a stop to the wild schemes of that faction.[56] A discourse which Ananus delivered with this end in view[57] had indeed this result, that a section of the populace declared open hostilities against the Zealots. These enthusiasts were in the minority, and were obliged to retreat before the superior force of their opponents, and to take refuge in the

[51] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 3. 1–3. [52] *Ibid.* iv. 3. 4–5.

[53] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 3. 6–8. Compare Derenbourg, p. 269.

[54] So Josephus names him here. But he is probably identical with the Joseph, son of Gorion, mentioned above at p. 214. So also Derenbourg, p. 270.

[55] Compare on him also: Josephus, *Life*, xxxviii., xxxix., xliv., lx.; Derenbourg, pp. 270–272, 474 sq.

[56] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 3. 9. [57] *Ibid.* iv. 3. 10.

inner court of the temple, where for a time they were carefully guarded, as the people would not violently attack the sacred gates.[58]

In order to obtain support the Zealots secretly sent messengers to the war-loving Idumeans, and besought of them that they would form a confederacy on the pretext that the dominant party in Jerusalem had fallen away to Romans. The Idumeans appeared before the walls of the city, but were not admitted, for no one knew of their alliance with the Zealots.[59] On the night after their arrival a terrible hurricane burst forth. The storm raged, and the rain fell in torrents. Under shelter of this storm the Zealots succeeded in secretly opening the gates to their confederates and letting them in unobserved.[60] Scarcely had the Idumeans obtained a firm footing in the city, when they began the work of murder and robbery, in which the Zealots afforded them ready aid. The party of order was too weak to withstand the attack. The victory of the reign of terror in Jerusalem was complete. The rage of the Zealots and of the Idumeans in league with them was directly mainly against the distinguished, respectable, and well-to-do. All those who had previously been leaders of the revolution were now made away with as suspected friends of the Romans. Conspicuous above all the other victims of their murderous zeal were the high priests Ananus and Jesus.[61] In order to lend to their wild scheme the semblance of legal sanction, the comedy of a formal process at law was on one occasion enacted. But when the court of justice convened for that purpose pronounced the accused, Zacharias, son of Baruch, innocent, he was cut down by a couple of Zealots with the scornful declaration: "Here hast thou also our voices."[62]

[58] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 3. 12.
[59] *Ibid.* iv. 4. 1–4.
[60] *Ibid.* iv. 4. 5–7.
[61] *Ibid.* iv. 5. 1–3.
[62] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 5. 4.—Some have sought wrongly to

When the Idumeans had been satiated with murder, and had, besides, observed that what had been styled threatened treason was only a calumnious charge trumped up against order-loving citizens, they would have no more partnership with the Zealots, and so took their departure.[63] All the more unrestrainedly did the Zealots now pursue their rule of terror. Gorion also now fell under their lash. The party of the well-doing and order-loving had been by this time so sadly thinned that there could no longer be any thought of resistance. John of Gischala was supreme potentate in the city.[64]

At this period, if not even earlier than this, occurred the flight of the Christian community from Jerusalem. The Christians left the city "in consequence of a divine admonition," and migrated to the city of Pella in Perea, which as a heathen city was undisturbed by the war.[65]

Vespasian's generals were of the opinion that they should take advantage of these circumstances, and that now was the time to begin the attack upon the capital. They thought that in consequence of the internal conflicts within the city the task before them would be easily accomplished. Not so Vespasian. He regarded it as more prudent to allow his enemies to waste their strength in the civil strife, and to consume one another.[66] In order that the inhabitants of the capital might have time to carry out their work of self-destruction, he directed his attention meanwhile to Perea. Even before the favourable season had arrived, he marched from Caesarea

identify this Zacharias with the one mentioned in Matt. xxiii. 35 and Luke xi. 51.

[63] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 5. 5, 6. 1. [64] *Ibid.* iv. 6. 1.

[65] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iii. 5. 2–3; Epiphanius, *Haer.* 29. 7; *de mensuris et ponderibus*, § 15.- The migration took place κατά τινα χρηµὸν τοῖς αὐτόθι δοκίµοις δι' ἀποκαλύψεως ἐκδοθέντα κ.τ.λ. (Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* iii. 5. 3).—On Pella, see Div. II. vol. i. pp. 113–115.

[66] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 6. 2–3.

on the 4th Dystros, that is, Adar or March, of A.D. 68, invested Gadara, in order to guard against the elements in the city hostile to the Romans, left there a garrison, and then turned back again to Caesarea.[67] A detachment of 3000 infantry and 500 cavalry, which he left behind him under the command of Placidus, completed the subjugation of all Perea as far as Machärus.[68] When the more suitable season came round,[69] Vespasian advanced with the greater part of his army from Caesarea and invested Antipatris, took Lydda and Jamnia, drew up the 5th legion before Emmaus, made a successful raid through Idumea, then turned again northward upon Emmaus, pressed through Samaria to Neapolis (Shechem), and thence past Corea, where he arrived on 2 Daisios, that is Sivan or June, to Jericho.[70] At Jericho and Adida he left Roman garrisons, while Gerasa (?) was taken and then destroyed by a detachment sent against it under Lucius Annius.[71]

The country was now so far subdued that it only remained to begin the siege of the capital. Vespasian therefore turned back to Caesarea, and was actually busying himself with preparations for the siege of Jerusalem when the news reached him of the death of Nero, which had taken place on 9th June A.D. 68. By this event the whole situation was suddenly changed. The future of the empire as a whole was uncertain. Vespasian therefore suspended all warlike undertakings, and concluded to wait for the further develop-

[67] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 7. 3. 4.—On Gadara, see Div. II. vol. i. pp. 100–104.

[68] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 7. 4–6.

[69] ὑπὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἔαρος, Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 8. 1.

[70] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 8. 1.—On Corea, see present work, vol. i. p. 320. The other cities are well known.

[71] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 9. 1.—On Adida, see present work, vol. i. p. 252.—Gerasa cannot be the celebrated Hellenistic city of Decapolis, for it certainly continued faithful on the side of the Romans.

ment of affairs. When the news of Galba's elevation to the throne arrived, which was not till the middle of the winter of A.D. 68–69, he sent his son Titus to Rome in order to convey his greetings to the new emperor, and to receive from him his commands. But Titus had proceeded no farther than Corinth when he received tidings of the murder of Galba, which occurred on 15th January A.D. 69, whereupon he returned to Caesarea to his father. Vespasian was now inclined to wait without committing himself to see how things would go.[72]

Circumstances, however, soon obliged him again to take decisive action. A certain Simon Bar-Giora, that is, son of the proselyte,[73] a man of like spirit to John of Gischala, inspired by an equally wild enthusiasm for freedom, and just as little able to brook the presence of any one over himself, had taken advantage of the cessation of hostilities to gather around himself a crowd of supporters, with which he overran the southern parts of Palestine, robbing and plundering wherever he went. Everywhere the course which he and his horde had taken was marked by devastation. Among other successes he managed to surprise Hebron, and to carry off from it abundant spoil.[74]

Vespasian therefore found it necessary to secure possession of Judea in a more thorough manner than had hitherto been accomplished. On the 5th Daisios, that is, Sivan or June, of the year 69, after a whole year had passed without armed interference, he again advanced from Caesarea, subdued the districts of Gophna and Acrabata, the cities of Bethel and

[72] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 9. 2.—See further details regarding the journey of Titus in Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 1–4.

[73] Josephus always designates him *υἱὸς Γιώρα*. The form *Βαργιορᾶς*, Bargiora, occurs in Dio Cassius, lxvi. 7, and Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 12. Tacitus erroneously ascribes this cognomen to John. גִּיּוֹרָא is the Aramaic form for גֵּר, the proselyte. See Div. II. vol. ii. p. 316 f.

[74] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 9. 3–8.

Ephraim, and arrived in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, while his tribune Cerealis conquered and destroyed the city of Hebron, which had offered opposition. With the exception of Jerusalem and the fortresses of Herodium, Masada, and Machärus, all Palestine was now subject to the Romans.[75]

Even before Simon found himself prevented by this expedition of Vespasian from continuing his robber raids through Idumea, the gate of the capital had been flung open to receive him. Up to the spring of A.D. 69, John of Gischala had there played the part of the omnipotent tyrant. Of the ruinous confusion and lawlessness that prevailed in Jerusalem under his rule Josephus has given a thrilling and horrible description.[76] The inhabitants, who had long desired to be rid of his supremacy, looked with favour upon the arrival of Simon Bar-Giora as a means of freeing them from him who now acted the tyrant over them. On the suggestion of the high priest Matthias, Simon was invited to come into the city. He most readily accepted the invitation, and made his public entrance into Jerusalem in the month Xanthicus, that is, Nisan or April, of the year 69. But, although the hope had been entertained that he would free them from the tyranny of John, it was now found that they rather had two tyrants in the city who fought against one another, both regarding the resident citizens as their common enemies.[77]

Vespasian had scarcely returned back to Caesarea when the news came that Vitellius had been raised to the throne as emperor. The idea then took possession of the legions in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria that they had as much right to nominate the emperor as had their comrades in the West, and that Vespasian was more worthy of the throne than the glutton

[75] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 9. 9.—On Gophna and Acrabata, see Div. II. vol. i. p. 158. On Bethel and Ephraim, see present work, vol. i. p. 236 and p. 240.

[76] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 9. 10.

[77] *Ibid.* iv. 9. 11–12. Compare v. 13. 1.

Vitellius. On 1st July A.D. 69, Vespasian was proclaimed emperor in Egypt. A few days afterwards the Palestinian and Syrian legions made the same proclamation. Before the middle of July, Vespasian was acknowledged as emperor throughout the whole East.[78]

He had now something else to engage his attention than the prosecution of the war against the rebellious Jews. After he had received at Berytus the embassies from various Syrian and other cities, he marched on to Antioch, and from thence sent to Rome by road Mucianus with an army.[79] He then went himself to Alexandria. During his residence there he obtained the intelligence that his interests had prevailed in Rome, and that Vitellius had been murdered on 20th December A.D. 69. He himself still remained in Alexandria till the beginning of the summer of A.D. 70;[80] while his son Titus, to

[78] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 10. 2–6; Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 79–81; Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 6. That the Egyptian legions were the first to proclaim Vespasian emperor is stated by Tacitus and Suetonius; according to Josephus, the Palestinian legions had the precedence. The proclamation, in any case, was made in Palestine, according to Tacitus, "*quintum Nonas Julias;*" according to Suetonius, "*V. Idus Jul.*"—After his appointment as emperor he gave to Josephus a free pardon in thankful remembrance of his prophecy (*Wars of the Jews*, iv. 10. 7).

[79] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 10. 6, 11. 1; Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 81–83.

[80] According to Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 11. 5, Vespasian wished to march to Rome λήξαντος τοῦ χειμῶνος. According to Tacitus, he waited in Alexandria till the time of the summer winds, and till he had assurance of being able to make the voyage by sea (*Hist.* iv. 81: "statos aestivis flatibus dies et certa maris opperiebatur"). On the route of his journey, see especially Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 2. 1. He did not, however, reach Rome until after the middle of the year 70. See Schiller, *Geschichte der röm. Kaiserzeit*, i. 500; Chambalu, "Wann ist Vespasian im J. 70, Titus im J. 71 aus dem Orient nach Rom zurückgekehrt?" (*Philologus*, Bd. xliv. 1885, pp. 502–517). Chambalu holds that Vespasian did not leave Alexandria before August, and that he arrived in Rome in October A.D. 70. This latter statement must certainly be adopted, since Titus did not obtain word of Vespasian's happy arrival in Italy until November, when he was celebrating his father's birthday (17th November) in Berytus (Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 3. 1; compare 4. 1).

whom he had committed the continuing of the Jewish war, marched at the head of the army to Palestine.[81]

In Jerusalem, by this time, the internal feuds had advanced one step further. Instead of the two parties of John and Simon there were now three, for from the party of John a new section had broken off under Eleasar, son of Simon. Simon had in his power the upper city and a great part of the lower city, John held the Temple Mount, and Eleasar the inner Court of the Temple. All three continued incessantly at war with one another, so that the city from day to day presented the aspect of a battlefield. In their mutual hatred of one another they became so foolish that they destroyed by fire the immense store of grain which had been gathered up in the city, lest their rivals should profit by it, without considering that thereby they robbed themselves of the means of sustaining a siege.[82] While thus Jerusalem was tearing its own flesh, Titus was carrying on the preparations for his attack.

4. The Siege and Conquest of Jerusalem, A.D. 70.[83]

The army which Titus had at his disposal consisted of four legions. Besides the three legions of his father, the 5th, 10th,

[81] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 11. 5.—On the legal position of Titus during the war, see Pick, "Der Imperatortitel des Titus," in Sallet's *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Bd. xiii. 1885, pp. 190–238. Pick deals with the time preceding Titus' appointment as emperor.

[82] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 1. 1–5; Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 12. See also Rabbinical traditions about the destruction of the collection of grain in Derenbourg, p. 281.

[83] Compare, in regard to what follows, the monographs on Titus: Stange, *De Titi imperatoris vita*, part i. Breslau 1870; Double, *Vie de l'empereur Titus*, Paris 1876 (reviewed in the *Revue archéol.* n. s. xxxiii. 1877, pp. 279–282; Steinwenter, *Titus Flavius Vespasianus mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Zerstörung Jerusalems*, Graz 1876 (reviewed in the *Zeitschrift für die oesterreich. Gymn.* xxviii. 1877, p. 70); Otto Adalb. Hoffmann, *De imperatoris Titi temporibus recte definiendis*, Marburg 1883. Against Hoffmann's view, that the months used as dates in Josephus are to be taken from the Julian calendar, see Appendix III.

and 15th, he had also the 12th, which had already been in Syria under Cestius, and had so unfortunately begun the war. In addition to these, he had also the numerous auxiliary troops of the confederate kings.[84] The commanders of the legions were—Sextus Cerealis over the 5th legion, Larcius Lepidus over the 10th, Tittius Frugi over the 15th. The commander of the 12th legion is not named. As principal adviser, we would call him Chief of the Staff, Tiberius Alexander, afterwards procurator of Judea, accompanied Titus.[85] While a part of the army received orders to push on to meet him before Jerusalem, Titus himself advanced with the main body of his forces from Caesarea,[86] and a few days before the Passover, 14th Nisan or April, of A.D. 70, arrived before the walls of the Holy City.[87]

[84] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 1. 6; Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 1.

[85] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vi. 4. 3. On the generals here named, see Léon Renier, "Mémoire sur les officiers qui assistèrent au conseil de guerre tenu par Titus, avant de livrer l'assaut du temple de Jérusalem" (in the *Mémoires de l'Institut de France, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, t. xxvi. pt. i. 1867, pp. 269–321).—The commander of the 15th legion is called, not Titus Frugi, as our editions of the text of Josephus give it, but M. Tittius Frugi. See *Léon Renier*, p. 314.—Renier's remarks on Cerealis are to be corrected by reference to Mommsen, *Ephemeris epigraph.* iv. 499, and Rohden, *De Palaestina et Arabia provinciis Romanis*, 1885, p. 37. Renier confounds two of the name of Cerealis with one another. Our Cerealis is mentioned also in *Inscript. Regni Neap.* n. 4636= *Corpus Inscript. Lat.* t. x. n. 4862.—Tiberius Julius Alexander is described by Josephus as *τῶν στρατευμάτων ἀρχων* (*Wars of the Jews*, v. 1. 6), *πάντων τῶν στρατευμάτων ἐπάρχων* (*Wars of the Jews*, vi. 4. 3). In accordance with this, Mommsen fills up the gaps in the inscription of Aradus, *Corpus Inscript. Graec.* t. iii. p. 1178, n. 4536 f. = *Hermes*, Bd. xix. 1884, p. 644: *Τιβερίο]υ Ἰουλίου Ἀλ[εξάνδρου ἐπ]άρχου τοῦ Ἰουδαι[κοῦ στρατοῦ]*. Tiberius Julius Alexander was therefore "chief of the staff of the general." The position of this officer of equestrian rank, in an army commanded by a senatorian general, was similar to that of the *praefectus praetorio* in the army commanded by the emperor himself. See Mommsen, *Ephemeris epigraphica*, t. v. p. 578, at n. 1344; Mommsen, *Hermes*, Bd. xix. 1884, p. 644 ff.; Pick in Sallet's *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Bd. xiii. 1885, p. 207 f.

[86] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 1. 6.

[87] As appears from v. 3. 1 compared with v. 13. 7.—The elder Pliny

Titus had hurried on in advance of the legions with 600 cavalry in order to obtain information about the country by spies, and had in this got so far ahead of the main body, that he exposed himself most seriously to the danger of being fallen upon by the Jews, and, indeed, owed his safety wholly to his own personal bravery.[88] The Romans, from the moment of their arrival, had painful experience of the daring spirit of their opponents. While the 10th legion, which had advanced from Jericho to Jerusalem, was still occupied with the strengthening of its camp on the Mount of Olives, it was attacked with such violence that it had well-nigh suffered an utter defeat. Only by the personal interference of Titus was the yielding legion brought again to a stand, and enabled to ward off the attack.[89]

The conflict of parties within the city, however, was not even yet by any means abated. Even when the Romans were lying before the gates, during the Passover festival, a carnage of one party by the other was going on within the city. The faction of Eleasar had opened the gate of the temple court for those who had gone up to attend the feast. John of Gischala took advantage of this in order to smuggle in his people with concealed weapons, and to fall on Eleasar and his followers when least expected. Those who were thus taken by surprise were not strong enough to sustain the conflict, and were obliged to admit John's adherents into the court. From this time forward there were again two parties in Jerusalem, that of John and that of Simon.[90]

held a position in the army of Titus, and was indeed ἀντεπίτροπος of Tiberius Julius Alexander, according to Mommsen's skilful rendering of the inscription of Aradus, *Corpus Inscript. Graec.* t. iii. p. 1178, n. 4536 f. With reference to this, Pliny, in the dedication of his *Natural History* to Titus, says: "nobis quidem qualis in castrensi contubernio." See for further particulars, Mommsen, *Hermes*, Bd. xix. 1884, pp. 644–648.

[88] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 2. 1–2. [89] *Ibid.* v. 2. 4–5.

[90] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 3. 1; Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 12 *fin.*

In order to understand the siege operations that followed, it is necessary to form for oneself at least a general idea of the situation of the city.[91] Jerusalem lay upon two hills, a higher one to the west and a smaller one to the east, which were separated by a deep ravine running from north to south, the so-called Tyropoeon. On the larger western hill lay the upper city, on the smaller eastern hill the lower city. The latter was also called Acra, because there in former days down to the times of the Maccabees the citadel or castle of Jerusalem had been placed.[92] North of the Acra lay the site of the temple, the area of which had been considerably enlarged by Herod. Attached to the temple site on its northern side was the castle of Antonia. The temple site was surrounded on all its four sides by a strong wall, and thus even by itself alone formed a little fortress. The upper and the lower cities were surrounded by a common wall which was attached to the western wall of the temple site; it then ran on to the west, stretched in a great curve southward over the upper and lower cities, and finally ended at the south-eastmost corner of the temple site. But, further, the upper city must have been separated from the lower city by a wall running from north to south reaching to the Tyropoeon. For Titus

[91] Compare the designation in Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 4.—Of the almost incalculable literature on the topography of Jerusalem the more important works are referred to in vol. i. p. 19. The hypotheses of recent investigators about the old topography are shown in a special map in Menke's *Bibelatlas*, Sheet V., and still more completely by Zimmermann, *Karten und Pläne zur Topographie des Alten Jerusalem*, Basel 1876. The best plans of modern Jerusalem are those of Zimmermann-Socin and Wilson. See vol. i. p. 19.

[92] The situation of the Acra and the lower city is the one point most disputed in the topography of Jerusalem. By a careful expression and estimation of the sources, however, it seems to me that the above statement may be accepted with certainty. Compare vol. i. p. 206. The history of the siege by Titus confirms this. For Titus, who pressed on from the north, came into possession of the lower city only after he had taken the site of the temple, and so the lower city must have lain south of this. It reached as far as Siloah (*Wars of the Jews*, vi. 7. 2).

was obliged, after he had gained possession of the lower city, to direct an attack against the wall of the upper city.—On the west, south, and east, the walls stood upon the edge of lofty precipices; only on the north did the ground run down tolerably low. Thus was there with a northern curve a second wall which enclosed the older suburb; and then in a still wider curve to the north, a third wall, which had been begun by Agrippa I., but was completed only when found urgently needed during the rebellion. This third wall enclosed the so-called new city or suburb of Bezetha.[93]

As the very situation of the city demanded, Titus directed his attack against the north side, hence first of all against the third wall, or to speak from the standpoint of the besiegers, the first. It was only now, when the battering-ram began their work at three points, the civil war was stilled. Then the two factions, those of John of Gischala and of Simon Bar-Giora, banded together to make a common attack. In one of these onslaughts they fought with such success that the preservation of the engines of war were wholly due to the interference of Titus, who with his own hand cut down twelve of the enemy.[94] After fifteen days' work one of the most powerful of the battering-rams had made a breach in the wall, the Romans pressed in, and on the 7th Artemisios, that is, Ijjar or May, were masters of the first wall.[95]

The attack was now directed against the second wall. Five days after the taking of the first this one also had to

[93] On Bezetha, compare also this point, vol. ii. p. 213.—Josephus says in *Wars of the Jews*, v. 4. 2: Βεζεθά, ὅ μεθερμηνευόμενον Ἑλλάδι γλώσσῃ καινὴ λέγοιτ' ἂν πόλις. That is impossible. For Βεζεθά can be nothing else but בית זיתא, "Place of Olives." In the statement of Josephus therefore this much may be correct, that Bezetha was also called the New City.

[94] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 6. 2–5; Suetonius, *Titus*, 5: "duodecim propugnatores totidem sagittarum confecit ictibus."

[95] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 7. 2.

yield before the blow of the Roman battering-rams. Titus pressed in with a chosen band, but was driven back again by the Jews. Four days afterwards, however, he once more secured his position, and this time succeeded in maintaining it permanently.[96]

He now raised earthworks at one and the same time against the upper city and against the Antonia, two against the one, and two against the other; each of the four legions had to build one. Simon Bar-Giora conducted the defence of the upper city; John of Gischala that of the Antonia.[97] While the works were in progress, Josephus, apparently without success, was made to summon the city to surrender.[98] The want of the means of support was already beginning to be felt, and in consequence of this many of the poorer inhabitants went out of the city in search of victuals. Whenever any of them fell into the hands of the Romans, he was crucified in sight of the city, in order to strike terror into the heart of the besieged, or was sent back with his members mutilated.[99]

On the 29th Artemisios, that is, Ijjar or May, the four ramparts were completed. Simon and John had only wished their completion, in order that they might direct all their energies to destroy again the works produced by incredible exertion and wearisome toil. Those over against the Antonia were destroyed by John of Gischala in this way: he dug a subterranean passage under them, supported it with pillars and then set fire to the supports, so that the ramparts fell in and were consumed in the fire. Two days later Simon Bar-Giora destroyed by fire those directed against the upper city.[100]

Before Titus attempted the building of a new rampart, he

[96] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 7. 3–4, 8. 1–2.
[97] *Ibid.* v. 9. 2; comp. 11. 4.
[98] *Ibid.* v. 9. 3–4.
[99] *Ibid.* v. 10. 2–5, 11. 1–2.
[100] *Ibid.* v. 11. 4–6.

made use of another device. He caused the whole city to be surrounded with a continuous stone wall (τεῖχος), in order to cut off all escape and to reduce the city by famine. With marvellous smartness this work was finished in three days. Numerous armed watchmen guarded it so that no one could pass it.[101] In consequence of this the famine reached a terrible height in the city; and if even but the half is true which the inventive imagination of Josephus has recorded, it must certainly have been horrible enough.[102] That under such circumstances John of Gischala should have applied the sacred oil and the sacred wine to profane uses, can be regarded only by a Josephus as a reproach to him.[103]

Meanwhile Titus caused ramparts again to be built, and this time four against the Antonia. The wood used in their construction, owing to the complete devastation of all the district around, had to be carried a distance of 90 stadia

[101] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 12. 1–2; Luke xix. 43. Similar circumvallations are often spoken of. The most celebrated is that of Alesia by Caesar (*Bell. Gall.* vii. 69: "fossamque et maceriam sex in altitudinem pedum praeduxerant; ejus munitionis, quae ab Romanis instituebatur, circuitus XI milium passuum tenebat." Also before an attempt was made to attack it, Masada was surrounded by such a wall (Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 8. 2). Large remnants of it are to be seen to this day. It was erected of unhewn stones without the use of mortar. See *Survey of Western Palestine*, Memoirs, iii. 421, and generally the literature mentioned in note 133. Compare also Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Bd. ii. 1876, p. 509.

[102] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 12. 3, 13. 7, vi. 3. 3. Compare *Aboth derabbi Nathan* c. 6 (in Derenbourg, p. 285). Well known is the tragical history of that Mary of Beth-Esôb, who was driven by hunger to devour her own child. See *Wars of the Jews*, vi. 3. 4; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iii. 6; Hieronymus, *ad Joelem*, i. 9 ff. (*Opera*, ed. Vallarsi, vi. 178); and the passages from the Talmud and Midrash in Grätz, Bd. iii. 4 Aufl. p. 537 (2 Aufl. p. 401).—A mother's devouring of her own child belongs to the traditional and customary descriptions of the horrors of war, as well in threatenings: Lev. xxvi. 29, Deut. xxviii. 53, Jer. xix. 9, Ezek. v. 10, as in history: 2 Kings vi. 28, 29; Lam. ii. 20, iv. 10; Baruch ii. 3.

[103] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 13. 6.

(four and a half days' journey).[104] After twenty-one days' work they were completed. An attempt which John of Gischala made to destroy them on 1st Panemos, that is, Thammuz or July, was unsuccessful, since it was not carried out with the earlier energy, while the Romans had redoubled their vigilance.[105] Scarcely had the Jews retired back again, when the battering-rams began to beat against the walls. At first they had no considerable success. The walls, however, were so shattered by the blows, that soon they sank of themselves at the points where the wall-breakers had been at work. But even yet the storming of the city was a work of difficulty, since John of Gischala had already managed to erect a second behind it. After an encouraging speech of Titus on the 3rd Panemos, that is, Thammuz or July, a Syrian soldier named Sabinus, with eleven comrades, made the attempt to scale the walls, but fell in the struggle with three of his companions.[106] Two days afterwards, on the 5th Panemos, some twenty or thirty others banded together to renew the attempt. They mounted the wall secretly by night and cut down the first sentinels. Titus pressed as quickly as possible after them, and drove the Jews back as far as the temple site. Thence the Romans were indeed beaten back again, but they held the Antonia, which was soon razed to the ground.[107]

In spite of war and famine the daily morning and evening sacrifices had up to this time been regularly offered. On the 17th Panemos, that is, Thammuz or July, these had to be at last discontinued; but even then not so much on account of the famine, but rather "from the want of men."[108] Seeing that a renewed summons to surrender by Josephus proved again

[104] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 12. 4.
[105] *Ibid.* vi. 1. 1–3.
[106] *Ibid.* vi. 1. 3–6.
[107] *Ibid.* vi. 1. 7–8, 2. 1.
[108] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vi. 2. 1; Mishna, *Taanith* iv. 6: בִּשְׁבָעָה עָשָׂר בְּתַמּוּז בָּטַל הַתָּמִיד. Compare on the daily morning and evening sacrifices, Div. II. vol. i. pp. 273 ff. and 278 ff.

unsuccessful, and an attack by night of a select detachment of the army on the temple site proved a failure,[109] Titus now made preparations for a regular siege so as to take the temple by storm. The temple site formed a pretty regular square, which was completely surrounded by strong walls, along which on the inside ran a series of corridors. On the inside of this great space the inner court, surrounded on all sides by strong walls, formed a second position capable of being defended, which afforded to the besieged even after the loss of the outer space a place of safety. Titus was obliged first of all to make himself master of the outer wall. Again four ramparts were erected, for which he was now obliged to carry the material from a distance of 100 stadia (five hours' journey).[110] While they were working at these, a number of Romans met with their death on the 27th Panemos in this way: they allowed themselves to be deceived by the withdrawal of the Jews from the heights of the western corridors into scaling those heights. But they had been beforehand filled by the Jews with inflammable materials. So soon then as the Romans had reached the top the Jews set fire to the vaults, and the fire spread with such rapidity that the soldiers could not escape, but were enveloped in the flames.[111]

When the ramparts were completed on the 8th Loos, that is, Ab or August, the rams were again set to work, and the siege operations began. But on the immense walls they could make no impression. In order to obtain his end Titus caused fire to be placed at the gates, and so opened up the entrance to the outer temple space.[112] On the next day, the 9th Ab, when the gates had been completely burnt down, Titus held a council of war, at which it was resolved that the temple should be spared.[113] But when on the day following,

109 Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vi. 2. 1–6.
110 *Ibid.* vi. 2. 7.
111 *Ibid.* vi. 3. 1–2.
112 *Ibid.* vi. 4. 1–2.
113 *Ibid.* vi. 4. 3.

the 10th Ab, the Jews made two onslaughts rapidly one after the other from the inner court, and on the second occasion were driven back by the soldiers who were occupied with the quenching of the flames in the corridors, a soldier cast a blazing brand into one of the chambers of the temple proper.[114] When this was reported to Titus he hasted to the spot, followed by the generals and the legions. Titus gave orders to quench the fire; but in the wild conflict that now raged around the spot his commands were not heard, and the fire got ever a firmer hold upon the edifice. Even yet Titus hoped to save at least the inner court of the temple, and renewed his orders to quench the flames; but the soldiers in their excitement no longer listened to his commands. Instead of quenching the flames, they threw in new firebrands, and the whole noble work became a prey to the flames beyond redemption. Titus managed to inspect the inner court before the fire reached it.[115]

[114] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vi. 4. 4–5.

[115] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vi. 4. 6–7.—According to the account given above, the burning of the temple took place on the 10th Loos = Ab, as also Josephus in *Wars of the Jews*, vi. 4. 5, expressly states. The Rabbinical tradition places the destruction of the temple on the 9th Ab (Mishna, *Taanith* iv. 6: בְּתִשְׁעָה בְּאָב חָרַב הַבַּיִת בָּרִאשׁוֹנָה וּבַשֵּׁנִיָּה), and indeed early on the evening before that day (*b. Taanith* 29*a*: ערב תשעה באב, Derenbourg, p. 291); that is, in our way of reckoning, on the 8th Ab. It therefore regards as the day of destruction the day on which Titus caused fire to be laid to the gates. According to Rabbinical tradition it was Sabbath evening, מוצאי שבת, when the temple was destroyed. See vol. i. p. 41, and Derenbourg, p. 291. According to Dio Cassius, Jerusalem was destroyed ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου ἡμέρᾳ.

According to the representation of Josephus, which we have followed, Titus had expressed a wish to spare the temple proper (*Wars of the Jews*, vi. 4. 3). Divergent from this is the narrative of Sulpicius Severus, *Chronicon*, ii. 30: "Fertur Titus adhibito consilio prius deliberasse, an templum tanti operis everteret. Etenim nonnullis videbatur, aedem sacratam ultra omnia mortalia illustrem non oportere deleri, quae servata modestiae Romanae testimonium, diruta perennem crudelitatis notam praeberet. At contra alii et Titus ipse evertendum in primis templum censebant, quo plenius Judaeorum et Christianorum religio tolleretur:

While the Romans slaughtered indiscriminately all that fell into their hands, children and old men, priests and people, and intentionally fanned the terrible conflagration, so that nothing escaped the flames, John of Gischala succeeded, along with his Zealot following, to escape into the upper city. Even before the temple had been burnt down, the legions planted their standards in the temple court, and greeted their general as Imperator.[116]

quippe has religiones, licet contrarias sibi, isdem tamen ab auctoribus profectas; Christianos ex Judaeis extitisse: radice sublata stirpem facile perituram." Orosius, vii. 9. 5–6, from a somewhat different point of view, ascribes the destruction to Titus. Seeing that Sulpicius Severus, as Bernays has proved, elsewhere bases his statements on Tacitus, Bernays has concluded that on this point also his statement rests on the history of Tacitus, which for this period is no longer extant, and served as model for Josephus, who wishes to free Titus from the *nota crudelitatis* (Bernays, *Ueber die Chronik des Sulpicius Severus*, 1861, pp. 48–61, in his *Gesammelte Werke*, ii. 159–181). The following also agree with Bernays: Stange, *De Titi imperatoris vita*, P. 1, 1870, pp. 39–43; Schiller, *Geschichte der röm. Kaiserzeit*, i. 399; Thiaucourt, *Revue des études juives*, t. xix. 1889, p. 65 sqq. The following vacillate: Renan, *Der Antichrist*, pp. 405–410; and Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 538 f. Against Bernays: Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, 4 Aufl. iii. p. 538 f., and Hausrath, *Zeitgeschichte*, 2 Aufl. iii. 474. Only general assertion without reference to original sources is given by Illhardt, *Titus und der jüdische Tempel* (Philologus, Bd. xl. 1881, pp. 189–196). Titus, he says, had intended to preserve the temple for a time until he had seen it and plundered it, and then to destroy.—It is in fact probable that Sulpicius Severus drew upon Tacitus; but that does not prove that it was the model according to which Josephus constructed his account. This remains a mere possibility. Even the former supposition is rendered suspicious by its being based upon an alleged resolution impossible in the mouth of Titus.

[116] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vi. 5. 1–2. The greeting of Titus as Imperator: *Wars of the Jews*, vi. 6. 1; Suetonius, *Titus*, 5; Dio Cassius, lxvi. 7; Orosius, vii. 9. 6. On the significance of this procedure, see especially Suetonius, *l.c.* Titus was suspected of having fallen away from Vespasian, and of having wished to set up as an independent ruler of the East.—Further details by Teuffel in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, vi. 2. 2490; Mommsen, *Imperatortitel des Titus* (*Wiener Numismat. Zeitschrift*, Bd. iii. 1871, pp. 458–478); F. J. Hoffmann, *Quomodo quando Titus imperator factus sit*, Bonnae 1883; Chambalu, *Der Verfassungsstreit zwischen Titus und Vespasian* (Philologus, Bd. xliv. 1885, pp. 123–131);

The work of the conqueror, however, was by no means completed with the overthrow of the temple. The upper city, the last refuge of the besieged, had yet to be taken. Titus once again called upon Simon and John to surrender. But the besieged wished to stipulate for liberty to go forth untouched, which would not be granted them.[117] By order of Titus the parts of the city now in the possession of the Romans—the Ophla, the depository of the archives, the council house, the lower city down to Siloah — were set on fire, while at the same time the tyrants in the upper city continued their work of murder and plunder.[118]

Seeing then that there was no hope of securing the voluntary surrender of the besieged, it was necessary once more to resort to the erection of ramparts. They were constructed partly at the north-western corner of the upper city near the palace of Herod, partly at the north-eastern corner, in the neighbourhood of the so-called Xystus. On the 20th Loos (Ab, August) the buildings were begun; on the 7th Gorpiaeus (Elul, September) they were finished. The battering-rams soon made a breach in the walls, through which the soldiers with little difficulty forced their way, because the besieged in their despondent condition could no longer offer a vigorous and determined opposition.[119] One portion of them made the attempt to break away through the besiegers' lines and to force through the cordon which surrounded them at Siloah; but they were driven back, and rushed again into their subterranean hiding-places. Meanwhile the whole of the upper city was taken possession of by the Romans. The military standards were planted and the song of victory

Pick, "Der Imperatortitel des Titus," in Sallet's *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Bd. xiii. 1885, pp. 109–238. Add to these: Schiller in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, Bd. lii. pp. 17–25; Mommsen, "Zu den Münzen des Titus," in Sallet's *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Bd. xiv. 1887, pp. 31–35.

117 Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vi. 6. 2–3.

118 *Ibid.* vi. 6. 3, 7. 2–3.

119 *Ibid.* vi. 8. 1–5.

was sung. The soldiers passed through the city murdering, burning, and plundering. After a five months' siege, after having been obliged laboriously to press on step by step, gaining one position after another, the whole city at last, on 8th Gorpiaeus (Elul, September), fell into the hands of the conquerors.[120]

Those of the inhabitants who had not already fallen victims to the famine or the sword were now put to death, or sent to labour in the mines, or reserved for the gladiatorial combats. The handsomest and most powerful of the men were spared to grace the triumph. Among the fugitives who were driven by hunger to go forth out of their subterranean hiding-places was John of Gischala. When he begged for mercy he was granted his life, but was sentenced to life-long confinement in prison. It was not, however, until a considerably later period that Simon Bar Giora was apprehended. He was reserved as a victim for the triumph.[121] The city was then razed to the ground. Only the three gates of the palace of Herod — Hippicus, Phasael, and Mariamme — and a portion of the wall were left standing; the former as monuments of the original strength of the city, the latter as a protection for the garrison that was left in charge. The victory, won by hard fighting, and at the cost of many victims, was celebrated by Titus in an address of thanks to the army, the distribution of rewards to those who had distinguished themselves in battle, the presenting sacrifices of thanksgiving, and a festive banquet.[122]

[120] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vi. 8. 5, 10. 1.

[121] *Ibid.* vi. 9. 2, 4, vii. 2. 1–2.

[122] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 1. 1–3.—Of the three gates of the palace of Herod, only one is preserved to the present day under the name of "David's Tower," commonly identified with Hippicus, but by Schick with Phasael. A minute description is given by Schick in *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, i. 226 ff. Illustrations of it may be seen in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch*, i. 210, in art. "Burg," and in Ebers and Guthe, *Palästina*, Bd. i. p. 9.

5. The Conclusion of the War, A.D. 71–73.

Leaving behind him the tenth legion as a garrison in Jerusalem, Titus proceeded with the rest of his army to Caesarea-on-the-Sea, where the spoil was deposited, and the prisoners consigned to safe keeping.[123] Thence Titus marched to Caesarea Philippi, where a portion of the prisoners were forced to engage in combat with wild animals, and to take part in the gladiatorial shows.[124] At Caesarea-on-the-Sea, to which he returned, he celebrated the birthday of his brother Domitian, 24th October, with games on a magnificent scale.

[123] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 1. 2–3.—The tenth legion in the time of Dio Cassius, in the beginning of the third century after Christ, still remained in Judea, Dio Cassius, lv. 23. Not until the time of Eusebius is it spoken of as the garrison at Aela on the Red Sea (Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 210). Inscriptions, in which it is referred to, have been found recently in considerable numbers in Jerusalem. (1) A short and fragmentary one is described in full detail by Clermont-Ganneau, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres de l'année*, 1872, pp. 163–170. The same is also given in *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1871, 103; *Ephemeris epigraphica*, ii. p. 292, n. 345; *The Survey of Western Palestine, Jerusalem*, p. 427. (2) Another, somewhat more complete, is particularly treated by Zangemeister, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, x. 1887, pp. 49–53, xi. 1888, p. 138. The same is also given in Merrill, *Quarterly Statements*, 1886, 73. (3) Also seals with the impression upon them, *Leg. X. Fretensis*, have been brought to light from under the heaps of rubbish. See Clermont-Ganneau, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1872, pp. 158–163; *Ephemeris epigraphica*, ii. p. 293, n. 346, v. p. 618, n. 1441; Guthe, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 1882, Taf. x. fig. A; Merrill, *Quarterly Statements*, 1885, 133. In modern tombs "numerous relics of the tenth legion" have been found (Merrill, *Quarterly Statements*, 1886, 72). The richest contribution has been made by a large, catacomb-like series of tombs on the Mount of Olives, in which numerous seals have been found with the impression *LXF* or *LXFre*, which were used as a covering for particular graves. See Schick, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, xii. 1889, pp. 198, 199. (4) On a medal of the *L. X. F.*, which was found in Jerusalem, see De Saulcy, *Revue archéologique*, nouv. série, t. xx. 1869, pp. 251–260; *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, p. 83, sq. pl. v. n. 3.

[124] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 2. 1.

At Berytus also he celebrated in a similar manner the birthday of his father Vespasian, on 17th November. After a lengthened stay in Berytus,[125] Titus proceeded to Antioch, giving public entertainments in the cities through which he passed, at which the Jewish prisoners were set to slay one another in gladiatorial contests. After a short stay in Antioch, he passed on to Zeugma on the Euphrates; and from thence he returned again to Antioch, and from thence proceeded to Egypt. At Alexandria he disbanded the legions. Of the prisoners there were 700 specially distinguished by their handsome appearance; and these, together with the rebel leaders John and Simon, were reserved for the triumph.[126] Titus now sailed for Rome,[127] was received by his father and by the people with joyful demonstrations, and in common with his father and brother celebrated, in A.D. 71, one triumph, though the Senate had assigned one separately to each of them.[128] During the triumph Simon Bar Giora,

[125] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 3. 1: χρονιωτέραν ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἐπιδημίαν.

[126] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 5. 1–3.

[127] The arrival of Titus in Rome is set down "somewhere about the middle of June A.D. 71" by Chambalu, *Philologus*, xliv. 1885, pp. 507–517.

[128] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 5. 3–7; Dio Cassius, lxvi. 7. The Jewish spoils which were borne along in the triumphal procession are to be seen to the present day on the relief work on the Arch of Titus. Compare Reland, *De spoliis templi Hierosolymitani in arcu Titiano Romae conspicuis*, Ultraj. 1716. New edition by Schulze 1775. Also in Ugolini, *Thesaurus*, t. ix. An engraving and a description of the Arch of Titus, which was not erected *divo Tito* until after the death of Titus, is given by many; among others, by Reber, *Die Ruinen Roms und der Campagna*, 1863, pp. 397–400. On the relief, see Philippi, "Ueber die römischen Triumphalreliefe und ihre Stellung in der Kunstgeschichte" (*Abhandlungen der philol.-hist. Classe der sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissensch.* Bd. vi. 1874, pp. 245–306; with illustrations: Tafel ii.–iii.).—In the inscription on the Arch of Titus (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum*, t. vi. n. 945) no mention is made of the Jewish war. But another Arch of Titus, destroyed in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, which had stood in the Circus Maximus, bore the following pompous and, so far as it deals with the earlier history of Jerusalem, untrue inscription, bearing date A.D. 81, preserved in a manu-

the rebel leader, was in accordance with an old custom carried away from the festal procession to prison and executed there.[129]

The conquest of the capital had certainly given to Titus the right to the celebration of the triumph. The whole of Palestine, however, was not yet by any means subdued. The strongholds of Herodium, Machärus, and Masada were still in the hands of the rebels. The reduction of these fortresses was the work of the governor of Palestine at that time, Lucilius Bassus. In regard to the Herodium, this seems to have been accomplished by him without difficulty.[130] The siege of Machärus occupied a longer time.[131] Yet even this strong-

script at Einsiedeln: "Senatus populusque Romanus imp. Tito Caesari divi Vespasiani f. Vespasiano Augusto . . . quod praeceptis patri(is) consiliisque et auspiciis gentem Judaeorum domuit et urbem Hierusolymam omnibus ante se ducibus regibus gentibus aut frustra petitam aut omnino intemptatam delevit" (Piper, *Jahrbb. für deutsche Theol.* 1876, pp. 52–54; *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. vi. n. 944; Darmesteter, *Revue des études juives*, t. i. 1880, p. 35 sq.; on its genuineness: Mommsen, *Berichte der sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. philol.-hist. Cl.* 1850, p. 303).—The coins of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian with the superscription: Ιουδαιας εαλωκυιας, *Judaea evicta*, *Judaea capta*, and such like, are given most fully in Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881, pp. 207–229. Compare also De Saulcy, *Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaïque*, p. 155 sq.; *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, p. 79 sq.; Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1876, pp. 45–55; *History of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 183–197.

[129] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 5. 6; Dio Cassius, lxvi. 7.—Simon was dragged to the place over against the Forum (*Wars of the Jews*, vii. 5. 6: εἰς τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐσύρετο τόπον). Upon this statement Havercamp correctly remarks: "scil. carcerem, quem Livius dicit Foro imminere." The *carcer Mamertinus* lay near the Forum. There, and indeed in its lower part, the *Tullianum*, were, *e.g.*, Jugurtha and the Catilinian conspirators put to death. It was the common practice to put prisoners of war to death there by strangling. Trebellius Pollio, *Tyranni triginta*, c. 22 (in: "Scriptores Historiae Augustae, ed. Peter): "strangulatus in carcere captivorum veterum more." On the *Carcer*, see also Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, art. "Tullianum," and Gsell-Fels, *Rom.* (1 Aufl.) ii. 200 ff.

[130] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 6. 1.—On the situation of the Herodium, see vol. i. of this work, p. 435.

[131] Machärus in Greek: Μαχαιροῦς (so Josephus, *Strabo*, xvi. 2. 40, p.

hold, before it was taken by storm, yielded by a voluntary surrender. The decision to surrender was finally taken in consequence of the apprehension of a youth called Eleasar, who had particularly distinguished himself in the defence. Bassus threatened to crucify him in view of the city, and in order to prevent this the Jews gave over the fortress.[132] In the meantime Lucilius Bassus died. To his successor, Flavius Silva, fell the task of taking Masada.[133] In that fortress the Sicarii, under

763; Stephanus Byzant. *s.v.*) is in the Semitic languages *Mechawar*, מכוור or מכבא. In the Mishna, *Tamid* iii. 8, the *editio princeps*, the Cambridge Manuscript, and *cod. de Rossi*, 138, have מכוור; *Aruch* has מכבר. Both forms also occur elsewhere, but מכוור is more common. The pointing of the word מְכַוֵּור, *Mechawar*, as in *cod. de Rossi*, 138, is confirmed by the reading מכאוור, which a Munich Manuscript, *Joma* 39*a*, has. See Levy, *Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, iii. 111 f. Also generally: Lightfoot, *Opera*, ii. 582. Besides this Semitic form, we have the following: Μαχαβέρως (Parthey, *Hieroclis Synecdemus et Notitiae graccae episcopatuum*, 1866, p. 93) and *Machaveron*, as an accusative form, Tobler and Molinier, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, 1879, p. 326.—According to *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 6. 2, Machärus had been fortified as early as in the days of Alexander Jannäus. Gabinius demolished the fortress (*Antiq.* xiv. 5. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 8. 5). Herod the Great fortified it anew (*Wars of the Jews*, vii. 6. 2). On its importance, see Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 16. 72: "Machaerus secunda quondam arx Judaeae ab Hierosolymis."—It lay on the southern border of Peraea (*Wars of the Jews*, iii. 3. 3), and in the time of Herod Antipas is said to have belonged to the king of Arabia (*Antiq.* xviii. 5. 1). Undoubtedly it is the modern *Mkaur*, east of the Dead Sea. See Seetzen, *Reisen durch Syrien*, ii. 330 ff., iv. 378 ff.; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xv. 1. 577 f.; Raumer, *Palästina*, p. 264; Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, ii. 335 ff.; Hausrath, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, 2 Aufl. i. 329 f.; Parent, *Machaerous*, Paris 1868; Tristram, *The Land of Moab*, 2nd ed. 1874, p. 253 sqq.; Duc de Luynes, *Voyage d'Exploration à la mer morte, à Petra et sur la rive gauche du Jourdain*, Paris, s. a. [1874], Atlas, Sheets 36–39; Baedeker-Socin, *Palästina*, p. 317.

[132] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 6. 1, 4.

[133] On Masada, *i.e.* מְצָדָה, *mountain stronghold*, in Strabo, xvi. 2. 44, p. 764, corrupted into Μοασάδα, see especially the comprehensive monograph of Tuch, *Masada, die herodianische Felsenfeste, nach Fl. Josephus und neueren Beobachtungen*, Leipzig 1863, p. 4.—It had indeed been fortified even by the high priest Jonathan (*Wars of the Jews*, vii. 8. 3), and was spoken of as an important stronghold as far back as the time of Hyrcanus II. about B.C. 42 (*Antiq.* xiv. 11. 7; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 12. 1), and during

the leadership of Eleasar, the son of Jairi, and a descendant of Judas of Galilee,[134] had established themselves at the commencement of the war, and had continued to maintain their position. The siege proved a very difficult business, since the rock upon which the fortress was built rose on all sides so high and steep that it was almost impossible to bring the engines of destruction near. Only at one point, and even there only by means of difficult and ingenious preparatory operations, was it possible to secure a place for a battering-ram. But by the time that this machine had made a breach in the wall, the besieged had already erected behind that wall another bulwark of wood and earth, which, owing to its elasticity, could not be destroyed by the battering-ram. The enemy, however, by the use of fire succeeded in setting this obstacle also aside. When Eleasar saw that there was no longer any hope of resisting the attack, he held a council

the invasion of Palestine by the Parthians served as a safe retreat for the members of the family of Herod (*Antiq.* xiv. 13. 8 f., 14. 6, 15. 1 f.; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 13. 7 f., 15. 1, 15. 3 f.). Herod the Great fortified it anew (*Wars of the Jews*, vii. 8. 3).—According to *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 8. 3, it lay near to the western bank of the Dead Sea; according to *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 7. 2, it was not far from Engedi. So, too, Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 17. 73: "Inde (*scil.* 'from Engedi') Masada castellum in rupe et ipsum haut procul Asphaltite." According to this, and according to the description which Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 8. 3, gives of the locality, there can be no doubt that it is to be identified with the modern Sebbeh on the western bank of the Dead Sea south of Engedi, as Smith and Robinson were the first to recognise. The siege works of the Romans of A.D. 73 are still to be distinctly seen in that place. See generally: Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, iii. 241 ff.; Wolcott and Tipping in the *Bibliotheca sacra*, New York 1843; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xv. 1, p. 655 ff.; De Saulcy, *Voyage autour de la mer morte*, Paris 1853, Bd. i. p. 199 ff., with atlas, pl. xi.-xiii.; Rey, *Voyage dans le Haouran et aux bords de la mer morte exécuté pendant les années*, 1857 et 1858, Paris; atlas, pl. xxv.-xxvi.; Tuch, *Masada;* Sepp, *Jerusalem und das heilige Land*, 2 Aufl. Bd. i. 1873, p. 821 ff., with plans and illustrations; Baedeker-Socin, *Palästina*, pp. 298–300, with plan; *The Survey of Western Palestine*, Memoirs by Conder and Kitchener, iii. 418–421, with two plans and an illustration; and therewith Sheet xxvi. of the large English Map.

[134] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 17. 9, vii. 8. 1

with the garrison, in which he urged that they should first of all slay the members of their own families, and then put one another to death. This, therefore, was done. When the Romans entered, they beheld with horror that no more work was left for them to do. Thus was the very last stronghold of the rebellion conquered in April A.D. 73.[135]

After the fall of Masada disturbances were made by the Jews in Alexandria and in Cyrene, which in the former place resulted in the closing of the temple of Onias at Leontopolis.[136] But these after-vibrations of the great revolution in the mother country are scarcely worthy of being mentioned alongside of the original movement, The fate of Palestine was sealed by the overthrow of Masada. Vespasian retained the country as a private possession, and the taxes levied went into his own purse.[137] Only to 800 veterans did he distribute grants of land at Emmaus near Jerusalem.[138] The former

[135] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 8. 1–7, 9. 1–2.—According to vii. 9. 1, the self-slaughter of the garrison of Masada took place on the 15th Xanthicus (Nisan, April). The year is not mentioned. But since in an earlier passage, vii. 7. 1, the fourth year of Vespasian is mentioned, which began on 1st July A.D. 72 (comp. Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 79), the conquest of Masada must have occurred in the spring of A.D. 73. Compare Ewald, *History of Israel*, vii. 614.

[136] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 10–11 ; *Life*, lxxvi.

[137] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 6. 6 : κελεύων πᾶσαν γῆν ἀποδόσθαι τῶν Ἰουδαίων· οὐ γὰρ κατῴκισεν ἐκεῖ πόλιν, ἰδίαν αὐτῷ τὴν χώραν φυλάττων. Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 539 f. note, discovers in those words a contradiction. But such there would be only if we were to take ἀποδόσθαι in the sense of "to sell." It means, however, also "to farm out." The country immediately surrounding Jerusalem had been given over to the tenth legion (Josephus, *Life*, lxxvi.).

[138] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 6. 6 : ὀκτακοσίοις δὲ μόνοις ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς διαφθειμένοις χωρίον ἔδωκεν εἰς κατοίκησιν, ὃ καλεῖται μὲν Ἀμμαοῦς, ἀπέχει δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων σταδίους τριάκοντα. The reading here vacillates between τριάκοντα and ἑξήκοντα. Since the two best manuscripts have τριάκοντα, and since ἑξήκοντα is evidently an emendation in accordance with Luke xxiv. 13, the former is to be regarded as the correct reading. Accordingly our Emmaus cannot be the same as that Emmaus otherwise known, situated somewhere about 20 or 21 miles from Jerusalem, which, from the time of Julius Africanus, in the beginning of the third century

temple-tax of two drachmas was henceforth exacted of all

after Christ, was called Nicopolis. On it see Div. II. vol. i. p. 159; Henderson, *Handbook on Palestine*, pp. 165–167; Gelzer, *Julius Africanus*, i. 5–7. Sozomen distinctly declares that the latter: μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τὴν κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων νίκην, had the name of Nicopolis (*Hist. eccl.* v. 21); and the coins of Emmaus-Nicopolis are supposed to have an era from about A.D. 70. See, with reference to this point, Belley in the *Mémoires de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres*, alte serie, Bd. xxx. 1764, pp. 294–306; Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 454; Mionnet, *Description de médailles ant.* v. 550 sq., *Suppl.* viii. 376; De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, pp. 172–175, 406, pl. vi. 3–5: De Saulcy in *Annuaire de la Société française de Num. et d'Archéol.* t. iii. 2, 1869, pp. 275–278; De Saulcy in *Mélanges de Numismatique*, t. ii. 1877, p. 147 sq. For this reason, in spite of the indication of distance in Josephus, the military colony of Vespasian is by many identified with Emmaus-Nicopolis. So *e.g.* Kuhn, *Die Städt. und bürgerl. Verfassung des röm. Reichs*, ii. 356 f.; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Bd. i. 2 Aufl. 1881, p. 428; Gelzer, *Julius Africanus*, i. 5–7; with hesitation: Grotefend in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, iii. 115. But the assertion of Sozomen, who only casually throws out this suggestion, and probably hastily draws this conclusion only from the name Nicopolis, is confronted by the definite and positive statement of Eusebius and other chroniclers, according to which Nicopolis had not been founded earlier than the time of Julius Africanus, and only then received this name. According to Eusebius, *Chronicon. ad ann. Abr.* 2237, ed. Schoene, ii. 178 sq. = *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf, i. 499, in the time of Helesgabalus; according to Syncellus, ed. Dindorf, i. 676, in the time of Alexander Severus. Compare also generally: Jerome, *De viris illustriis*, c. 63 = *Opera*, ed. Vallarsi, ii. 903, and an anonymous writing, probably from the Church history of Philip of Side, dating about A.D. 430, which De Boor has edited according to a *Codex Baroccianus* [*Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, edited by Gebhardt and Harnack, v. 2, 1888, pp. 169, 174 f.]. Yet another is given in Reland, *Palaestina*, p. 759. The chief passage in Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 178 sq., runs as follows in the Armenian: "In Palestina antiqua Emmaus restaurata est Nicopolisque vocata cura [praefectura] et interpellatione Julii Africani chronographi ad regem;" according to Jerome: "In Palaestina Nicopolis quae prius Emmaus vocabatur urbs condita est, legationis industriam pro ea suscipiente Julio Africano scribtore temporum;" according to the *Chronicon Paschale*: Παλαιστίνης Νικόπολις ἡ πρότερον Ἐμμαοῦς ἐκτίσθη πόλις, πρεσβεύοντος ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς καὶ προϊσταμένου Ἰουλίου Ἀφρικανοῦ τοῦ τὰ χρονικὰ συγγραψαμένου. That this is correct, and that the statement of Sozomen is false, is further proved by this, that writers before Heliogabulus are acquainted only with the name Emmaus. So Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 14. 70; Ptolemy, v. 16. 7. In the *Itinerarium Antonini* it is not met with at all. Also Josephus, who frequently mentions this Emmaus, never makes

Jews for the temple, Jupiter Capitolinus.[139] The inhabitants of Palestine became impoverished, and by the seven years' war their numbers had been terribly reduced. A Jewish magistracy, of the kind formerly possessed, no longer existed. The one gathering point which still remained for the people was

the remark that it is now called Nicopolis, whereas elsewhere he does not omit such notices. The existence of coins of the Palestinian Nicopolis before Heliogabulus, and with an era from about A.D. 70, is, however, very questionable indeed. See the critical remarks by De Saulcy in *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, pp. 172–175, and Mommsen, *Ephemeris epigraphica*, t. v. 1884, p. 619. The coin described by De Saulcy in the Appendix, p. 406, is very uncertain as to reading. In the *Mélanges de Numismatique*, ii. 147 sq., De Saulcy reports that he had received from Jerusalem a copy of the coin described by Belley of the year 72 *aer. Nicop.*, which was minted after the death of Faustina, who died A.D. 141. But the place of its discovery being Jerusalem, does not prove that the coin belonged to the Palestinian Nicopolis. It may, *e.g.*, have belonged to the Egyptian city of that name. It may even be matter of question whether we should not read PO=170, instead of BO=72, according to the era of Augustus. We have therefore no dependable testimony of the founding of an Emmaus-Nicopolis about A.D. 70. Against the identification of the military colony of Vespasian with this Emmaus-Nicopolis, it may be alleged, besides Josephus' account of its distance, that the military colony of Vespasian is not called Nicopolis by Josephus, and that, on the other hand, every characteristic feature of a colony is wanting in Emmaus-Nicopolis. Our Emmaus (*Wars of the Jews*, vii. 6. 6) is most probably rather to be identified with the New Testament Emmaus, Luke xxiv. 13, although the distance in the two cases, respectively 30 and 60 furlongs, are only approximately correct. It has been shrewdly conjectured that our Emmaus, in which Vespasian founded a Roman colony, is identical with the modern Culonie near Jerusalem. So Sepp, *Jerusalem*, 2 Aufl. i. 54–73; Ewald, *History of Israel*, vii. 553, 612; Hitzig, *Geschichte*, ii. 623; Caspari, *Chronological and Geographical Introduction to the Life of Christ*, p. 242; Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, vi. 306; Furrer in Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*, ii. 107 ff.; Fr. W. Schultz in Herzog, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 2 Aufl. xi. 771. In an inscription found at Emmaus-Nicopolis mention indeed is made of a *mil(es)* [*leg. V.*] *Mac*, *Ephemeris epigraphica*, t. v. p. 620, n. 1446. But the designation as *miles*, instead of as *veteranus*, is against the conjecture that it can refer to one of the veterans settled by Vespasian. In A.D. 68 a fortified camp of the fifth legion was placed at Emmaus, and remained a long time, probably until A.D. 70 (*Wars of the Jews*, iv. 8. 1, v. 1. 6.).

[139] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 6. 6; Dio Cassius, iv. 8. 1. Compare Div. II. vol. i. p. 251.

the law. Around this they gathered now with anxious and scrupulous faithfulness, and with the indomitable hope that some day, under an established civil government, and even among the nations of the world, it would come again to have a recognised place and practical authority.

§ 21. FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM TO THE OVERTHROW OF BAR-COCHBA.

1. The State of Affairs in Palestine from Vespasian to Hadrian.

The separation of Judea from the province of Syria, which had been resolved upon at the time when Vespasian was sent thither (see above, vol. i. p. 369), continued in force also after the conclusion of the war. Judea—and indeed under that very name—formed from this time forth an independent province.[1] Since it had as a garrison only one legion, the *legio X. Fretensis* (see above, p. 248), alongside of which were only auxiliary troops (see above, p. 56), the commander of that legion was at the same time governor of the province. It appears that, as a rule, the position was held by men of praetorian rank. It was only at a later period that the province came to be administered by men of consular rank, probably after the time of Hadrian, since even then the *legio*

[1] The name Judaea occurs, *e.g.*, on the military diploma of A.D. 86 (*Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. p. 857, Dipl. xiv.), on the inscription of Julius Severus (*Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. n. 2830), on the coin which celebrates Hadrian's visit to Judea (*adventui Aug. Judaeae*, in Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881, p. 231), on the inscription of an otherwise unknown "proc(urator) Aug(usti) provincia(e) Jud(aeae) v(ices) a(gens) l(egati)" in *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* iii. n. 5776, and elsewhere. At a later date, somewhere after Hadrian, the prevailing designation is *Syria Palaestina*, which occurs even as early as in Herodotus (see Division II. vol. ii. p. 193. Yet even then the name Judea had not altogether passed out of use. The geographer Ptolemy sets both alongside of each other (Ptolemy, v. 16. 1). Compare Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Bd. i. 2 Aufl. 1881, p. 421, note 2; P. von Rohden, *De Palaestina et Arabia provinciis Romanis quaestiones selectae*, 1885, pp. 1–3.

VI. Ferrata was stationed in Judea, and the governor was not of an order superior to the commander of a legion.[2]

From the series of governors only certain names are now known to us.[3] The first of these who exercised their functions during the war of A.D. 70–73 have already been briefly referred to:—

1. Sex. Vettulenus Cerialis, who at the siege of Jerusalem commanded the fifth legion (see above, p. 236). He remained after the departure of Titus as commander of the garrison troops, that is, of the tenth legion and of the detachments joined with it, and gave them over to Lucilius Bassus (*Wars of the Jews*, vii. 6. 1). His full name is given in an inscription (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum*, t. x. n. 4862).

2. Lucilius Bassus, who took the strongholds of Herodium and Machärus (Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 6. 1–6). He died as governor (*Wars of the Jews*, vii. 8. 1). The procurator serving under him, L. Laberius (not Λιβέροις) Maximus (*Wars of the Jews*, vii. 6. 6), is also mentioned in the Acts of the Arval priesthood: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum*, t. vi.

[2] Proofs of what is said above are given by von Rohden, *De Palaestina et Arabia provinciis Romanis*, p. 30 sq. On an inscription found recently in Jerusalem, dating from the time of Caracalla, one M. Junius Maximus "leg(atus) Augg. (*i.e.* duorum Augustorum) leg(ionis) X. Fr(etensis)" is mentioned. Seeing that he is designated as *leg. Augg.*, Zangemeister had assumed on his first examination of the inscription (*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, x. 1887, pp. 49–53) that this commander of the legion was also governor. But he has himself rightly, in his appendix to that article (*Zeitschrift*, xi. 138), correctly observed that in that case the designation *pro praetore* would not have been wanting. The person referred to was therefore only commander of the legion.

[3] Compare the collection of passages in: Kuhn, *Die städtische und bürgerliche Verfassung des Röm. Reichs*, ii. 184 f.; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Bd. i. 2 Aufl. p. 419 f.; von Rohden, *De Palaestina et Arabia provinciis Romanis*, 1885, pp. 36–42; Liebenam, *Forschungen zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des röm. Kaiserreichs*, Bd. i. 1888, pp. 239–244.—Grätz, "Die römischen Legaten in Judäa unter Domitian und Trajan und ihre Beziehung zu Juden und Christen" (*Monatsschr. für Gesch. und Wissensch. des Judenth.* 1885, pp. 17–34), gives only rabbinical legends.

n. 2059, and in the military diploma of A.D. 83 (*Ephemeris epigraphica*, v. p. 612 sq.). According to the latter authority, he was the governor of Egypt.

3. L. Flavius Silva, the conqueror of Masada (Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 8–9). He was consul in A.D. 81. His full name is given as L. Flavius Silva Nonius Bassus in the Acta Arvalium, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum*, t. vi. n. 2059. Compare Henzen, *Acta Arvalium Index*, p. 186.

4. M. Salvidenus, about A.D. 80, is witnessed to by a Palestinian coin of Titus, with the superscription *ΕΠΙ Μ. ΣΑΛΟΥΙΔΗΝ(ΟΥ)*, Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 218. He is certainly identical with the M. Salvidenus, who, according to a coin of Domitian, was proconsul of Bithynia (Mionnet, *Supplement*, v. p. 2).

5. Cn. Pompeius Longinus, A.D. 86. In a military diploma of Domitian of A.D. 86 the veterans of two *alae* and four cohorts are referred to "qui . . . sunt in Judaea sub Cn. Pompeio Longino" (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum*, iii. p. 857, Dipl. xiv.). We have no other information with reference to these governors of Judea.—From some statements of the diploma Henzen thought himself justified in drawing the conclusion, that at that time warlike operations were being carried on in Judea. The premises, however, do not by any means sustain such a conclusion.[4]

[4] Henzen, *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande*, xiii. 1848, pp. 34–37. He is followed by: Darmesteter, *Revue des études juives*, i. 1880, pp. 37–41; Schiller, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, i. 532. Against this view: Rohden, *De Palaestina et Arabia*, p. 38 (in accordance with a communication from Mommsen).—Henzen's reasons are: (1) The *cohors I. Augustana Lusitanorum*, mentioned on the diploma, was shortly before stationed in Pannonia. It must therefore have been sent for from thence in order to strengthen the garrison of Judea. (2) The veterans, according to the diploma, received indeed the rank of citizens, but not a full discharge (*honesta missio*). It was therefore thought that they might still be needed. The latter argument is not decisive, and the *cohors I. Augusta Lusitanorum* mentioned on the inscription, is demonstrably different from the *cohors I. Lusitanorum* settled in Pannonia in A.D. 85.

6. Atticus, about A.D. 107. In two fragments of Hegesippus, which are quoted by Eusebius, it is reported that Simeon, said to be the second bishop of the Church of Jerusalem, died a martyr's death "under the Emperor Trajan and the governor Atticus" (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iii. 32. 3: *ἐπὶ Τραϊανοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ὑπατικοῦ Ἀττικοῦ*; iii. 32. 6: *ἐπὶ Ἀττικοῦ τοῦ ὑπατικοῦ*). In the Chronicle of Eusebius this event is placed in the tenth year of Trajan, A.D. 107 (Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. p. 162 sq.); in the *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf, i. 471, in the consulship of Candidus and Quadratus, A.D. 105. Neither of these statements, indeed, has the value of traditional testimonies, least of all the statement in the *Chronicon Paschale*, which has only the authority of Eusebius. Our Atticus is supposed to be identical with the similarly named father of Herod Atticus. The designation of *ὑπατικός* is remarkable, since other governors of Judea had held this office before their consulship.—Compare generally: Waddington, *Fastes des provinces asiatiques*, p. 192 sq.; Dittenberger, *Hermes*, xiii. 1878, pp. 67–89.

7. Pompeius Falco, about A.D. 107 and onwards. The inscription in *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum*, t. x. n. 6321, gives the *cursus honorum* of this man, who is known from the letters of the younger Pliny. According to this document he was also "leg(atus) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) provinc(iae) [Judaeae] et leg(ionis) X. Fret(ensis)." The supplied word *Judaeae* is warranted here by the fact that the command of the tenth legion was attached to the governorship. According to Pliny, *Epist.* vii. 22, this governorship dates probably from A.D. 107 to A.D. 110, for in the letter written about that time Pliny commends a friend to Falco for the place of a tribune. But this, according to the other date of the *cursus honorum*, could only have happened during the period of his governorship of Judea.—The epistles addressed by Pliny to Pompeius Falco are Pliny, *Epist.* i. 23, iv. 27, vii. 22,

ix. 15. Compare generally: Mommsen, *Hermes*, iii. 1869, p. 51; Pliny, *Epist.* ed. Keil, p. 422 (Index by Mommsen); Waddington, *Fastes des provinces asiatiques*, pp. 202–204; Rohden, p. 39; Liebenam, *Forschungen*, i. 94 ff.; Petersen and Luschan, *Reisen in Lykien* (1889), p. 123.

8. Tiberianus, about A.D. 114.—In Joannes Malalas, ed. Dindorf, p. 273, the express language of a writing is quoted, which Tiberianus, the governor of *Palaestina prima*, addressed to Trajan during his stay in Antioch, A.D. 114 (*ἐν τῷ δὲ διατρίβειν τὸν αὐτὸν Τραϊανὸν βασιλέα ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας βουλευόμενον τὰ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου ἐμήνυσεν αὐτὸν Τιβεριανός, ἡγεμὼν τοῦ πρώτου Παλαιστίνων ἔθνους, ταῦτα*). In it Tiberianus calls the attention of the emperor to the fact that the Christians in a foolish manner deliver themselves up to martyrdom, and desires directions as to how he should proceed. In reply Trajan commanded him and all other magistrates throughout the whole empire to suspend the persecutions. This same story is told in a somewhat different way by John of Antioch (in Müller, *Fragmenta hist. graec.* iv. 580, n. 111). The statement of the latter is literally reproduced by Suidas in his Lexicon, *s.v.* *Τραϊανός*. Both stories, which are in thorough agreement on all essential points, are in respect of contents highly suspicious. Even the partition of Palestine into *Palaestina prima* and *secunda* did not take place before the end of the fourth century. Against the historicity of the narrative, see Gieseler, *Kirchengeschichte*, i. 1, 4 Aufl. p. 129; Overbeck, *Studien zur Geschichte der alten Kirche*, i. 122; Görres, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftl. Theologie*, 1878, p. 38 f.; Keim, *Rom und das Christenthum*, 1881, p. 526 f. In favour of it: Wieseler, *Die Christenverfolgungen der Caesaren*, 1878, p. 126 ff. The stories of Malalas and John of Antioch in this and in many other instances have so much that is common, that evidently the one must have borrowed from the other. Since both probably wrote about the beginning

of the seventh century, it is a question to whom the priority belongs. The style of the particular passage before us speaks in favour of the view now prevalent, that Malalas was the older, for Malalas communicates the letter of Tiberianus in the very words of the writer, whereas John of Antioch only describes its contents.[4a]

9. Lusius Quietus, about A.D. 117.—This distinguished general, after he had put down the outbreak of the Jews in Mesopotamia, was appointed governor of Judea (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 2. 5: *Ἰουδαίας ἡγεμὼν ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἀνεδείχθη.* Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 164; in Greek, in Syncellus, ed. Dindorf, i. 657, at the 18th year of Trajan [2131 Abr.]: *ἡγεμὼν τῆς Ἰουδαίας διὰ τοῦτο καθίσταται*). Dio Cassius merely says that he administered the government of Palestine after his consulship of A.D. 115 (Dio Cassius, lxviii. 32: *ὑπατεῦσαι τῆς τε Παλαιστίνης ἄρξαι*). That Trajan sent to Palestine a consular legate, not merely one of praetorian rank, was occasioned by the peculiarly difficult condition of affairs at that time.—By Hadrian, Lusius Quietus was recalled (*Spartian. vita Hadriana*, c. 5: "Lusium Quietum . . . exarmavit"), and soon thereafter put to death (*ibid.* c. 7; Dio Cassius, lxix. 2).—Compare generally: Borghesi, *Oeuvres*, i. 500 sq.

10. Tineius Rufus, A.D. 132.—When the revolution of Barcochba broke out, one Rufus was governor of Judea. (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 6. 1: *Ῥοῦφος ἐπάρχων τῆς Ἰουδαίας*).

[4a] Compare: C. Müller, *Fragmenta Hist. Graec.* iv. 536, in favour of the priority of John of Antioch.—Gutschmid, *Grenzboten*, 22 Jahrg. 1863, 1 Semester, 1 Bd. p. 345 f., in favour of the priority of Malalas.—Mommsen, *Hermes*, vi. 1872, pp. 323–383; Nicolai, *Griech. Literaturgeschichte*, iii. 56 f., 96 f.; Stokes in Smith and Wace, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, iii. 787 sq.; Gelzer, *Julius Africanus*, i. 74, 228 ff., ii. 129, in favour of the priority of Malalas; Sotiriadis, "Zur Kritik des Johannes von Antiocha," in *Jahrbücher für class. Philol.*, 16 *Supplementbd.* 1888, pp. 1–126, especially pp. 68–83, going back again to the idea that John of Antioch is the older.

In the Chronicle of Eusebius he is called Tineius Rufus (Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 166 sq. *ad. ann. Abr.* 2148; in Greek, in Syncellus, ed. Dindorf, i. 660: *ἡγεῖτο δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίας Τίννιος Ῥοῦφος*; in Latin, in Jerome: "tenente provinciam Tinnio Rufo"). In Jerome on Daniel c. 9, *s. fin.* ed. Vallarsi, v. 695: Timo Rufo; on Zechariah viii. 16 sqq. ed. Vallarsi, vi. 852: T. Annio Rufo (so the earlier editions; the reading *Turannio Rufo* is only a conjecture of Vallarsi). Undoubtedly the correct form is Tineius Rufus, as is proved by Borghesi. For one Q. Tineius Rufus, who was consul under Commodus, is referred to on several inscriptions. He may have been son or grandson of one Rufus. See Borghesi, *Oeuvres*, iii. 62–64, viii. 189 sq.; Renan, *L'église chrétienne*, p. 192 sq.; and also *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum*, t. vi. n. 1978.

In order to suppress the rebellion, Publicius Marcellus, who up to that time had been governor of Syria, was also sent into Judea (*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecorum*, n. 4033 = *Archäolog.-epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn Jahrg.* ix. 1885, p. 118: *ἡνίκα Πουβλκιος Μάρκελλος διὰ τὴν κίνησιν τὴν Ἰουδαϊκὴν μεταβεβήκει ἀπὸ Συρίας*; the same statement also is found in *Corpus Inscript. Graec.* n. 4034). This strengthening of the fighting forces in Judea is also referred to by Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* iv. 6. 1: *στρατιωτικῆς αὐτῷ συμμαχίας ὑπὸ βασιλέως πεμφθείσης*. Compare *Chronicon ad. ann. Abr.* 2148).

11. Julius Severus, A.D. 135. — The suppression of the Jewish revolution was thoroughly completed only by Julius Severus, who was sent to Judea from Britain, where he had been up to that time governor (Dio Cassius, lxix. 13). The *cursus honorum* of this man is given in the inscription, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum*, t. iii. n. 2830, where the higher offices are enumerated in the following order: "leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore) imp(eratoris) Traiani Hadriani Aug(usti) provinciae

Daciae, cos. leg. pr. pr. provinciae Moesiae inferioris, leg. pr. pr. provinciae Brittaniae, leg. pr. pr. provinciae Judeae, leg. pr. pr. provinciae Suriae." This therefore confirms the statement of Dio Cassius that he came from Britain to Judea. On the other hand, the statement of Dio Cassius, or rather that of his unskilful epitomizer Xiphilinus, that after the conclusion of the Jewish revolt he was made governor of Bithynia (Dio Cassius, lxix. 14), is the result of a confusion between him and another Severus. Our Julius Severus, who was consul in A.D. 127, was called Sextus Julius Severus (*Corpus Inscript. Lat.* iii. p. 874, Dipl. xxxi.), but the governor of Bithynia was *Τι. Σεουῆρος* (*Corpus Inscript. Graec.* n. 4033 and 4034), or, according to a more recent copy of one of these inscriptions, *Π. Σεουῆρος* (*Archäolog.-epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, ix. 118 = *Corpus Inscript. Graec. n.* 4033). Compare, Marquardt, *Romische Staatsverwaltung*, Bd. i. 2 Aufl. 1881, p. 353; Rohden, p. 42.[5]

[5] In the list of governors of Judea we also find one *Cl(audius) Pater(nus) Clement(ianus)*, who, according to an inscription (*Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. n. 5776), was "proc(urator) Aug(usti) provincia(e) Jud(aeae) v(ices) a(gens) l(egati)," therefore procurator or administrator in place of the deceased or recalled governor. The date of this inscription, however, is altogether unknown. For from the circumstance that the province is named, not Syria Palästina, but Judea, it cannot with certainty be concluded that the inscription is earlier than the time of Hadrian, as Rohden, p. 41, thinks he may conclude.—Just as little explanation is obtained from the rabbinical legends about a Roman *ἡγεμών*, who is said to have proposed captious questions to Jochanan ben Saccai, at the end of the first century after Christ. For the corrupt condition of the text makes it impossible even to determine his name with certainty. He is called, *jer. Sanhedrin* 196 (Cracow edition), אגנטום, *Agnitos* (*Egnatius?*), 19 c. *Antoninus*, and at 19a, *Antigonus*. In other places we also find other forms. The Hegemon Agnitos (אגניטום הגמון) who, according to Sifre on Deut. § 351, is said to have put a similar question to Gamaliel II. in the beginning of the second century after Christ, is certainly the same Agnitos. See generally: Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, p. 316 sq.; Levy, *Neuhebraïsches Wörterbuch*, i. 104*b*, 108*a* ("art." אגנטום and אגטונינום); Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, i. 1884, p. 39 f. = *Monats-*

The residence of the imperial governor, as in earlier times that of the procurators had also been, was not Jerusalem, but Caesarea, the important coast town built by Herod the Great.[6] It was formed by Vespasian into a Roman colony, and bore the official name *col(onia) prima Fl(avia) Aug(usta) Caesarensis* or *Caesarea*.[7] Jerusalem had been so completely razed to the ground "that there was left nothing to make those that came thither believe it had ever been inhabited."[8] It was first of all only a Roman camp, in which, if not the whole of the tenth legion, yet at least the chief portion of it, had its head-quarters, together with its baggage and followers.[9]

In regard to the other changes made upon the organization of the Palestinian city communities we have only scattered notices. To what extent Vespasian held the country as a private possession cannot be very clearly understood from the indefinite statements of Josephus (see above, p. 253). His private possessions seem to have extended not merely to the town domains of Jerusalem, but to all Judea — that term being understood in its proper and more restricted sense (*πᾶσαν γῆν τῶν Ἰουδαίων*). The only new town which Vespasian here founded was the military colony of Emmaus (see above, p. 253). In Samaria, Flavia Neapolis, which rapidly grew and flourished, was then founded. For that its founding belongs to the time of Vespasian is proved not only by its name and by the reference in Pliny, but also by

schrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft der Judenthums, 1882, p. 159 f.; Gratz, *Monatsschrift*, 1885, p. 17 ff.

[6] After Flavius Silva had conquered Masada he went back again to Caesarea (*Wars of the Jews*, vii. 10. 1).—Tacitus also describes Caesarea as *Judaeae caput* (Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 78).

[7] For further particulars, see Div. II. vol. i. p. 84.

[8] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 1. 1: *τὸν δ' ἄλλον ἅπαντα τῆς πόλεως περίβολον οὕτως ἐξωμάλισαν οἱ κατασκάπτοντες ὡς μηδὲ πώποτ' οἰκηθῆναι πίστιν ἂν ἔτι παρασχεῖν τοῖς προσελθοῦσι.*

[9] Compare the details as given by Gregorovius, *Sitzungsberichte der philosoph.-philol. und hist. Classe der Münchener Akademie*, 1883, p. 477 ff.

the era of the city, the starting-point of which is to be reckoned about A.D. 72.[10] It lay upon the site of a place which was previously called Mabortha or Mamortha, in the immediate vicinity of Shechem, so that it soon came to be identified with Shechem.[11] In the later days of the empire it was one of the most important cities of Palestine.[12] The inhabitants were wholly or predominantly pagan, as their modes of worship witnessed to by coins prove. Upon not a

[10] The full name in Justin Martyr's *Apology*, i. c. 1: *ἀπὸ Φλαουΐας Νέας πόλεως τῆς Συρίας Παλαιστίνης.* Similarly: Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 12. So, too, on the coins. On the coins and on the era, see Noris, *Annus et epochae Syromacedonum*, v. 5. 2 (ed. Lips. pp. 537–552); Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 433–438; Mionnet, *Description de médailles*, v. 499–511, *Supplem.* viii. 344–355; De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, pp. 244–274, pl. xii.–xiv.

[11] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 8. 1: *παρὰ τὴν Νεάπολιν καλουμένην, Μαβορθὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων.*—Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 13. 69: *Neapolis quod antea Mamortha dicebatur.*—Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 290: *Συχὲμ ἡ καὶ Σίκιμα ἢ καὶ Σαλήμ· πόλις Ἰακὼβ νῦν ἔρημος· δείκνυται δὲ ὁ τόπος ἐν προαστείοις Νέας πόλεως. Ibid.* p. 274, *s.v.* Λουζά· *παρακειμένη Συχὲμ ἀπὸ β′ σημείου Νέας πόλεως*; instead of which Jerome gives in his text more correctly: *in tertio lapide Neapoleos;* Epiphanius, *Haer.* 72. 23: *ἐν Σικίμοις τουτέστιν ἐν τῇ Νεαπόλει.* So, too, *Haer.* 80. 1.—Jerome, "Peregr. Paulae," in Tobler, *Palaestinae descriptiones*, p. 23 (=Jerome, *Opp.* ed. Vallarsi, i. 703): "Sichem, non ut plerique errantes legunt Sichar, quae nunc Neapolis appellatur."—Compare generally: Reland, *Palaestina*, pp. 1004–1010; Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, iii. 95–136; Williams in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, ii. 411, 412; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvi. 637–658; Kuhn, *Die städtische und bürgerliche Verfassung des röm. Reichs*, ii. 56, 355, 356, 364; Sepp, *Jerusalem*, 2 Aufl. ii. 37–66; Guérin, *Samarie*, i. 390–424; Baedeker-Socin, *Palästina*, p. 342 ff.; *The Survey of Western Palestine*, Memoirs by Conder and Kitchener, ii. 203–210, and Sheet xi. of the large English Map.—The articles on Shechem in the Bible dictionaries of Smith, Kitto, and Fairbairn; and "Sichem" in those of Winer, Schenkel, and Riehm.

[12] By Septimius Severus it was deprived of the *jus civitatis* (*Spartian. vita Severi*, c. 9), but the same emperor at a later period again restored to it that privilege (*Spartian. vita Severi*, c. 14: "Palaestinis poenam remisit quam ob causam Nigri meruerant"). Under Philip the Arabian, according to the evidence of the coins, it was made into a Roman colony. Ammianus Marcellinus designates it as one of the greatest of the cities of Palestine (*Ammian.* xiv. 8. 11).

few of these coins, later than the time of Hadrian, Gerizim is represented, and on its top a temple which was dedicated, according to Damascius, to Ζεὺς ὕψιστος.[12a] The festive games of Neapolis during the second century, and certainly even at a later date, were regarded as amongst the most important in Palestine.[12b]—The founding of Capitolias in Decapolis belongs to the time of Nerva or Trajan; its era begins in A.D. 97 or 98.[13] Hadrian founded Aelia on the

[12a] On the numerous extant coins, from Domitian down to the middle of the third century, we meet with Serapis, Apollo, the Ephesian Diana, and other deities. In regard to the temple on Gerizim, see "Damascius" in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, *cod.* 242, ed. Bekker, p. 345*b*: ἐν ᾧ Διὸς ὑψίστου ἁγιώτατον ἱερόν. Renan, *L'église chrétienne*, p. 222. On the earlier and later history of the worship on Gerizim, see Eckhel, *Docr. Num.* iii. 434.—The flourishing condition of Hellenistic culture and religion in Neapolis is also proved by a marble basis of a tripod recently found there. On the relief of this marble are represented the battles of the gods and the heroes, especially of Theseus and Hercules. According to an inscription discovered there, the tripod, probably also the marble basis, had been brought by the founder from Athens. See *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, vi. 230 f., vii. 136 f.

[12b] See the inscription of the time of Marcus Aurelius in Le Bas and Waddington, *Inscriptions*, t. iii. 2, n. 1620*b*, communicated literally and in full in Div. II. vol. i. p. 24.

[13] Eckhel, *Docr. Num.* iii. 328 sq.—For the literature on Capitolias, which possibly may be identical with Raphana, see Div. II. vol. i. p. 106.—Capitolias is mentioned in Ptolemy, v. 15. 22; *Itinerarium Antonini*, ed. Wesseling, pp. 196 sq., 198; *Tabula Peuting. Hieroclis Synecdem.* ed. Wesseling, p. 720; *Geogr. Ravennas*, ed. Pinder et Parthey, p. 84; Acts of Councils in Le Quien, *Oriens christianus*, iii. 715 sq.; Orelli, *Inscr. Lat.* n. 941 = *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. vi. n. 210; *ibid.* t. x. n. 532; *Ephemeris epigraphica*, t. iv. p. 331 (*D* II.), t. v. pp. 211–398; coins from Marcus Aurelius down to Macrinus.—Many (*e.g.* Kuhn, *Die städtische und bürgerliche Verfassung*, ii. 372) erroneously refer to our Capitolias the notice of the jurist Paulus in *Digest.* l. 15. 8. 7: *similes his Capitulenses esse videntur*, *i.e.* like Caesarea, which, as a colony, had not the full *jus Italicum*. Capitolias was, according to the coins, αὐτόνομος, and therefore not a Roman colony. Paulus means *Aelia Capitolina*, that is, Jerusalem, as the parallel passage in Ulpian (*Digest*, l. 15. 1. 6) proves: "In Palestina duae fuerunt coloniae, Caesariensis et Aelia Capitolina, sed neutra jus Italicum habet." The correct view is given in Noris, *Annus et epochae Syromacedonum*, iii. 9. 4, ed. Lips. 326; Deyling, *Observationes*

site of Jerusalem, the history of which is given below in the account of the war. Other new foundings of Palestinian cities belong to a period later than that of which we treat, such as that of Diocaesarea = Sepphoris (known under its new name from the time of Antonius Pius, see Div. II. vol. i. p. 136), Diospolis = Lydda, Eleutheropolis (both under Septimius Severus),[14] Nicopolis = Emmaus (under Heliogabulus).

The destruction of Jerusalem brought about a violent revolution in the inner life of the Jewish people. No longer a Sanhedrim and no longer a sacrificial service,—the loss of those two great institutions was of itself sufficient to produce a profound change in the conditions of Jewish life. But it has first of all to be established that the sacrificial service actually did cease.[15] Not only the Epistle to the Hebrews, the date of the composition of which is uncertain, but also Clement of Rome and the author of the Epistle to Diognetus, who undoubtedly wrote after the destruction of Jerusalem, speak as if in their time the Jewish sacrificial worship was still maintained.[16] And Josephus also expresses himself quite to the same effect. Not only where he describes the Jewish sacrificial worship in accordance with the Old Testament,[17] but also where he apparently speaks of the customs and practices of his own time, he employs the present

sacrae, v. 475; but Deyling erroneously names Noris as maintaining the contrary opinion.

[14] Stark, *Gaza und die philistäische Küste*, p. 553.

[15] Compare the careful demonstration in Friedmann and Grätz, "Die angebliche Fortdauer des jüdischen Opfercultus nach der Zerstörung des zweiten Tempels" (*Theol. Jahrbücher*, 1848, pp. 338–371).—Against them: Friedenthal in Fürst's *Literaturblatt des Orients*, 1849, col. 328–322.—Against him again: Friedmann in *Literaturblatt*, 401, 433, 465, 534, 548.—In reply: Friedenthal, *Literaturblatt*, 492, 524, 573, 702.—Derenbourg, *Historie de la Palestine*, pp. 480–483.

[16] Clemens Romanus, c. 41; *Epist. ad Diognetum*, c. 3.

[17] Josephus, *Antiq.* iii. 9–10.

tense.[18] It is indeed the fact that when speaking of the sacrifices for the Roman people and for the Roman emperor he makes use of this mode of expression, although this was purely a later custom, and was not a prescription of the Old Testament.[19] Besides this, we have also scattered allusions in the rabbinical literature, which seem to indicate the continuance of the sacrificial service after A.D. 70.[20] It is not to be wondered at that many on the basis of such material should have maintained the continuance of the sacrificial worship. In itself this was quite a possible thing. In an interesting passage in the Mishna,[21] R. Joshua testifies: "I have heard that one ought to present sacrifice even if there be no temple; that one should eat that which is sanctified [on this see Division II. vol. i. p. 236], even though there be no wall around the court; that one may eat what is holy in a lower degree [see on this Division II. vol. i. p. 240] and the second tithe, even if there should be no wall around Jerusalem; for the first consecration has sanctified, not only for its own time, but for all future time." It was not therefore in utter opposition to the views of the Rabbis that men should continue after the destruction of the temple to offer sacrifices in holy places. But as a matter of fact this was not done. In the enumeration of the unfortunate days of Israel it is distinctly said that on 17th Thammuz the daily

[18] Josephus, *Treatise against Apion*, ii. 23.

[19] Josephus, *Treatise against Apion*, ii. 6, *s. fin.*: "facimus autem pro eis continua sacrificia; et non solum quotidianis diebus ex impensa communi omnium Judaeorum talia celebramus, verum . . . . solis imperatoribus hunc honorem praecipuum pariter exhibemus."

[20] The most deserving of attention is *Pesachim* vii. 2, where the question is discussed whether one should roast the paschal lamb on a gridiron. "R. Zadok said: Once Rabban Gamaliel spoke to his slave Tabi: Go and roast us the paschal lamb on the gridiron." Since a slave Tabi is elsewhere named as servant of Gamaliel the second, about A.D. 90–110 (*Berachoth* ii. 7; *Succa* ii. 1), it would seem that this later Gamaliel is the one intended in this place.

[21] *Edujoth* viii. 6.

sacrifice was abolished (בָּטַל הַתָּמִיד),[22] while there is nowhere any reference made to its restoration. In the description of the Passover in the Mishna, the enumeration of the dishes that had to be set upon the table is concluded with the remark: "During the time that the temple was standing the Passover offering also was served.[23] This implies that after the destruction of the temple it was no longer offered. In speaking of the legal enactments for determining the new moon it is said: "So long as the temple remained standing those who had seen the new moon were allowed to violate the Sabbath by going to Jerusalem, in order to testify thereto, for the sake of the observance of the sacrifice on the festival of the new moon."[24] The harmonious testimony of those passages of the Mishna is confirmed by others in the Babylonian Talmud of a character yet more direct, if that were possible, which assume even in regard to the times of Rabban Jochanan ben Saccai, Rabban Gamaliel II. and R. Ishmael, *i.e.* the first decade after the destruction of the temple, that the whole sacrificial worship had ceased.[25] Finally, Justin also appears as a witness on behalf of this view. He says to his opponent Trypho: "God never appointed the Passover to be offered except in the place where His name was to be called upon, knowing that after the passion of Christ the days would come, when even Jerusalem would be given over to our enemies, and all sacrifices should cease."[26] And in another passage Trypho himself says in answer to Justin's question as to whether it was not then still possible to observe all the commands of Moses: "By no means, for we know well that it

[22] *Taanith* iv. 6. Compare what is said above, p. 242.

[23] *Pesachim* x. 3. [24] *Rosh hashana* i. 4.

[25] *Rosh hashana* 31[b], *Pesachim* 72[b], *Sebachim* 60[b], in Friedmann and Grätz, *Theol. Jahrbücher*, 1848, p. 349 ff.

[26] Justin, *Dialogus cum Trypho*, c. 40: εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐλεύσονται ἡμέραι μετὰ τὸ παθεῖν τὸν Χριστόν, ὅτε καὶ ὁ τόπος τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑμῶν παραδοθήσεται καὶ παύσονται ἅπασαι ἁπλῶς προσφοραὶ γινόμεναι.

is not allowable to slay the paschal lamb nor the goats for the Day of Atonement, nor generally to present any of the other offerings in any other place."[27]—If, then, Christian writers and Josephus, even long after the destruction of the temple, still speak of the presenting of sacrifices in the present tense, they only describe thereby what is still allowable, but a right that was no longer actually exercised. Precisely the same view is presented in the Mishna from the first page to the last, for all institutions that are legally correct are described as existing customs, even although their observance owing to the circumstances of the time was impossible.[28]

Two facts, therefore, of the highest importance and most widely influential are well established: the abolition of the Sanhedrim and the cessation of the sacrificial worship.[29] In the Sanhedrim there had been embodied the last remnant of the political independence of Judaism, and consequently also the last remnant of the power of the Sadducean nobles. The influence of the Sadducean nobility even since the times of Alexandra had been waning before the advancing strength of the Pharisees. They still managed, however, to exert a very considerable influence so long as the Sanhedrim continued to exist. For the jurisdiction of that aristocratic senate of Judea was down to the time of the procurators pretty extensive, and at its head stood the Sadducean high

[27] Justin, *Dialogus cum Trypho*, c. 46: Οὐ γὰρ γνωρίζομεν, ὡς ἔφης, οὔτε πρόβατον τοῦ πάσχα ἀλλαχόσε θύειν δυνατὸν οὔτε τοὺς τῇ νηστείᾳ κελευσθέντας προσφέρεσθαι χιμάρους οὔτε τὰς ἄλλας ἁπλῶς ἁπάσας προσφοράς.

[28] In the statement about Gamaliel and his slave Tabi it is indeed Gamaliel I. that is intended, and the name of Tabi has crept in by mistake. It may, however, be conjectured that Tabi as a youth had served the grandfather and as an old man the grandson (so Derenbourg), or that the name Tabi had come to be hereditary in the family of the slave just as Gamaliel in the family of the master (so Friedmann and Grätz).

[29] On the suppression of the Sanhedrim, see also *Sota* ix. 11, quoted literally in Div. II. vol. i. p. 173.

priest. With the destruction of Jerusalem this Jewish council was immediately brought to an end; the Roman provincial constitution was enforced in a stricter form. With the disappearance of the Sanhedrim, Sadduceanism also disappears from history.—The overthrow of the city, however, led also to the suppression of the sacrificial worship, and therewith the gradual recession of the priesthood from public life. This was only carried out by degrees. It could not for a long time be believed that the disastrous circumstances in which the people were placed were to continue. It seemed to be only a question of the time when the priests should be able again to resume their services. Naturally, all dues were exacted after as well as before the catastrophe. Only the taxes which had been contributed directly for the maintenance of the temple and of the public sacrifices were declared by the Rabbins to be suspended. The contribution devoted to the personal support of the priests continued after as well as before a duty according to the law, and where there were priests, were given over directly to them.[30] But notwithstanding all this, the priesthood, now that it could no longer perform its service, lost its importance. It was a memorial

[30] *Shekalim* viii. 8: "The Shekalim or tax of two drachmas and the Bikkurim or first-fruits of the produce of the fields were presented only while the temple stood, but the tithe of the grain and the tithe of the cattle and the first-born were presented all the same, whether the temple stood or not."—These three imposts are here mentioned only by way of example as the most important. There remained in force, *e.g.* also the Teruma (*Bikkurim* ii. 3) and the tax of the three pieces of the slaughtered victims, namely, the right fore-leg, the cheeks, and the stomach (*Chullin* x. 1). Further details on all these imposts are given in Div. II. vol. i. pp. 230–236.—The priest's due of the right shoulder is witnessed to as a custom of his time by the Emperor Julian in Cyrill. *adv. Julian*, p. 306 A: καὶ τὸν δεξιὸν ὦμον διδόασιν ἀπαρχὰς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν, where it is not to be translated as by Neumann (*Kaiser Julians Bücher gegen die Christen*, 1880, p. 39) "the right shoulder," but "the right fore-leg," for it rests not upon Lev. vii. 32, but upon Deut. xviii. 3. Compare also Friedmann and Grätz, *Theol. Jahrbücher*, 1848, p. 359 ff.

of a past age, which indeed, as time went on, sank more and more into obscurity and decay.

The Pharisees and the Rabbis now entered into the heritage of the Sadducees and priests. They had an admirable preparation for entering upon this heritage. During two centuries they had been making steady progress toward dominant power. And now for a time they entered upon the enjoyment of absolute sovereignty. The overthrow of Jerusalem means nothing more or less than the passing over of the people to Pharisaism and the Rabbis; for the factors which had hitherto stood in opposition to these had now sunk into utter insignificance.

After the overthrow of Jerusalem, Jamnia (Jabne) seems in a special way to have become a centre of literary activity. There, during the first decade after the destruction of the temple, wrought Rabban Jochanan ben Saccai, and, at the end of the first and beginning of the second century, Rabban Gamaliel II., gathering around them a whole band of scholars. The most celebrated of the contemporaries of Gamaliel were R. Josua ben Chananja and R. Elieser ben Hyrcanus, the latter of whom had his residence at Lydda. Younger contemporaries and pupils of these men were R. Ishmael, R. Akiba, and R. Tarphon. See in regard to all these scholars and their contemporaries, Div. II. vol. i. pp. 366–379.

By these men and by their numerous colleagues and scholars, the interpretation of the law was carried on with greater zeal than ever. It was as though, after the political overthrow, the whole strength of the nation had concentrated itself upon the care of the law as its own highest and proper task. Everything pertaining to it, the criminal and the civil law, and the manifold religious statutes and ordinances, were dealt with by these scholars with painful particularity, and drilled into the memories of the scholars by their teachers.

It did not matter in the least whether the circumstances of the time allowed these ordinances to be put in practice or not. All the minutiae of the temple service, the entire ritual of the sacrificial worship, were discussed as diligently and as earnestly as the laws of purifying, the Sabbath commandment, and other religious duties, the observance of which was still possible. There is nothing so fitted to produce before us a lively picture of the faith of the people in their future as the conscientiousness with which the prescriptions about the temple service and the sacrificial worship were treated by the guardians of the law. The time of desolation might continue for a longer or shorter period, but once again the day of restoration would surely dawn. And hence, in the cataloguing by the scribes in the second century of the Jewish law in the *corpus juris* or Mishna, there are included a topography of the temple in the tract *Middoth* and a description of the distribution of the priests in the daily service in the tract *Tamid*. Their descendants, to whom was to be granted the privilege of a restored worship, were to be told how it had previously been conducted in the days of the fathers.

The scholars who after this fashion cared for the highest interests of Israel formed now even more exclusively and unrestrictedly than before the rank of the highest authorities among the people. The priests, who had previously been the most influential in the direction and practice of religious duties, were now relegated to a condition of inactivity. All the energies of the pious had now to be restricted to the doing of that which the Rabbins prescribed to them. There was no need of any external compulsion. Whatever the most distinguished teachers had laid down was regarded by the pious without any further question as obligatory. Indeed, they were not only recognised as lawgivers in spiritual and temporal things, but in all matters of dispute they were appealed to as judges, even in questions of *meum* and *tuum*.

During this period it was indeed no uncommon occurrence to see, *e.g.*, R. Akiba, purely by means of his spiritual authority, condemning a man to pay 400 denarii compensation, because he had on the street uncovered his head to a woman.[31]

The court of law at Jamnia enjoyed the highest reputation toward the end of the first and in the beginning of the second century after Christ, a college of learned men, which can scarcely have had any formal recognition from the Roman authorities, but yet actually stepped into the place of the old Sanhedrim of Jerusalem, as the supreme court of law for Israel. The enactments passed by Rabban Jochanan ben Saccai in Jamnia after the destruction of the temple, in order to adapt certain legal requirements to the altered circumstance of the times, were regarded as binding.[32] Rabban Gamaliel II. and his court of justice watched over the correct reckoning of the contents of the calendar. To its decisions the elder R. Josua submitted, even if he considered them to be erroneous.[33] As a rule the decisions on points of law issuing from Jamnia were treated as constituting the authoritative standard.[34] Indeed, the succession of Jamnia to the privileges of Jerusalem was so generally acquiesced in, that where this was not the case, it was pointed to as an exception to the rule.[35] Even in regard to the number of members, they seem to have copied the pattern of the Sanhedrim of Jerusalem. At least there occurs in one place a statement to the effect that "the seventy-two elders" appointed as presi-

[31] *Baba kamma* viii. 6.

[32] *Sukka* iii. 12; *Rosh hashana* iv. 1, 3, 4; *Menachoth* x. 5. Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, p. 304 sq.

[33] *Rosh hashana* ii. 8–9.—According to *Edujoth* vii. 7, once in Gamaliel's absence the year was declared to be an intercalary year, on the condition that he would confirm this opinion when he returned.

[34] *Kelim* v. 4; *Para* vii. 6. Compare also *Bechoroth* iv. 5, vi. 8 (how they were wont to do in Jamnia in making inspection of the first-born).

[35] *Sanhedrin* xi. 4; *Rosh hashana* iv. 2.

dent R. Eleasar ben Asariah.[35a]—We may assume that this court of justice at Jamnia was voluntarily accepted by the Jewish people as authoritative, not only in the domain of the ceremonial law, but also in the domain of the civil and criminal law. In reference to the civil law it may indeed have received actual authorization, in accordance with the general procedure in legislation. For the Roman legislation, so far as we can understand it, recognised the authority of the Jewish communities in the Dispersion to administer the law in civil suits among their countrymen, wherever the contending parties chose to bring their disputes before their own communal court.[36] But in criminal matters this jurisdiction bore the character of a usurped authority, rather than of one conferred by the emperor. Origen very vividly, and at the same time authentically, describes to us the state of matters which then prevailed. In vindicating the story of Susanna and Daniel, he endeavours to prove that the Jews might quite well have had their own judicatories during the Babylonian exile. In proof of this he refers to the state of matters in Palestine in his own days, of which he knew from his own observation. The power of the Jewish Ethnarch (so Origen designates him) is so great, that he is in no respect different from a king (ὡς μηδὲν διαφέρειν βασιλεύοντος τοῦ ἔθνους). "There are also secret legal proceedings in accordance with the law, and many are condemned to death without any general authority having been obtained for the exercise of such functions, and without any attempt to conceal such

[35a] *Sebachim* i. 3; *Jadajim* iii. 5, iv. 2. Compare Div. II. vol. ii. pp. 370, 372.

[36] Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 17; *Codex Theodosianus*, ii. 1. 10: *ex consensu partium in civili duntaxat negotio.* Compare Div. II. vol. ii. pp. 263, 269.—According to *Edujoth* vii. 7, Gamaliel II. once made a journey to the governor (Hegemon) of Syria (it should be "of Judea") "in order to obtain a permission from him" (לטול רשות מהגמון בסוריא). It is possible it had to do with an investiture, or extension, or execution of legislative functions.

doings from the governor."[37] This was the state of matters during the third century. In the first decades after the destruction of Jerusalem, they would not have ventured to go so far. Yet this was the direction in which things were tending.—To this Jewish central court in Palestine, whose president subsequently received the title of Patriarch, were also paid the contributions of the Jews of the Dispersion, so far as these continued to be collected after the destruction of the temple. At least for the period of the later days of the empire this can be proved to demonstration. In this matter also the Rabbis take the place of the priests. For previously the contributions were cast into the central treasury of the priests at Jerusalem. It was now a rabbinical board which made the collection by means of their *apostoli*, and superintended its proper distribution. See Div. II. vol. ii. pp. 269, 288.

All zeal for the law of their fathers in this later time, at least among the great majority of the pious, had its motive power in the belief in a glorious future for the nation. Such was the case even before the great catastrophe; and so it continued in a yet more exaggerated degree after that terrible event. If now, more zealously than ever, the people occupied themselves with the scrupulous fulfilment of the commandments of God, certainly the most powerful motive working in this direction was the wish to render themselves thereby worthy of the future glory in which they so confidently believed. In regard to this religious movement during the first decades after the overthrow of the holy city, the Apocalypses of Baruch and Ezra, which had their origin in that very period, afford us a lively as well as an authentic picture. On these Apocalypses see Div. II. vol. iii. pp. 83–114. The immediate consequence of the terrible slaughter was

[37] Origen, *Epistola ad Africanum*, § 14, given literally in Div. II. vol. i. p. 173.

indeed a profound and paralyzing shock to the feelings. How could God permit this disaster to befall His own chosen people? But this grand mystery was only a particular instance of the universal mystery: How is the misfortune of the righteous generally and the good fortune of the unrighteous possible? Through the darkness of this latter problem the pious consciousness of Israel had long ago successfully struggled. So now also a satisfactory answer was soon found. It is a chastisement which God has inflicted upon His people because of their sin. It has its own appointed time. When the people by means of it shall have learned righteousness, the promised day of redemption will soon dawn for them. This is the fundamental idea of both of these apocalypses, and their purpose is to comfort the people in their distress, to inspire them with courage and with holy zeal by visions of the redemption that will come to them surely and soon. The confident belief in this future was therefore only intensified, confirmed, and inflamed by the sore sufferings and sad disasters of the time. Out of the grief for the overthrow of the sanctuary, the Messianic hope drew new nourishment, new strength. This was also, from a political point of view, important, and productive of serious consequences. For this Messianic hope was a wonderful blending of religious and political ideals. The political aspirations of the nation had never been abandoned, and the element of danger just lay in the combination of them with religious motives. The political freedom of the nation, which the people longed for, was now represented as the end of the ways of God. The more firmly this was believed, the more readily did the people set out of view the cool calculations of what is humanly possible, the bolder became their resolve to dare even the impossible. It was this feeling which even in the time of Nero had broken out in rebellion. In it there also still lay hidden elements that yet would lead to new and frightful catastrophes.

Under the emperors of the Flavian dynasty (Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, down to A.D. 96) there does not seem to have been any more serious development of these tendencies. Sufficient occasion, however, was presented for giving expression to those already present. For the command to contribute what had been the temple-tax to the Capitoline Jupiter at Rome (see above, p. 255), was an outrage upon the religious sensibilities of the Jews, which every year, on the levying of the tax, must afresh have roused the feeling of resentment. Under Domitian this tax was levied with great strictness, as generally this emperor posed as a decided enemy of the Jews, and conversion to Judaism was punished by the imposition of severe penalties.[38]

Eusebius speaks of an actual persecution of the Jews after the destruction of Jerusalem, even during Vespasian's reign, referring to Hegesippus as his authority. Vespasian, as well as Domitian and Trajan, is said by Hegesippus to have hunted for and executed all Jews of the house of David with great rigour, in order that the royal family, on which the Jews rested their hopes, should be rooted out.[39] This order led to a great persecution of the Jews under Vespasian.[40] We have no longer any means of determining how far this story is historical. It can scarcely be altogether without foundation, for that a Messiah descending from the house of David was expected is beyond dispute. The existence, therefore, of descendants of David might actually be looked upon as a source of political danger. This "persecution," however, cannot have been of

[38] Enforcement of the tax, Suetonius, *Domitian*, 12; prohibition of conversions to Judaism, Dio Cassius, lxvii. 14. Both passages are quoted in full in Div. II. vol. ii. p. 267.

[39] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iii. 12 (Vespasian); *ibid.* iii. 19–20 (Domitian); *ibid.* iii. 32. 3–4 (Trajan); reference being made in all cases to Hegesippus.

[40] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iii. 12: Οὐεσπασιανὸν μετὰ τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἅλωσιν πάντας τοὺς ἀπὸ γένους Δαβὶδ . . . ἀναζητεῖσθαι προστάξαι, μέγιστόν τε Ἰουδαίοις αὖθις ἐκ ταύτης διωγμὸν ἐπαρτηθῆναι τῆς αἰτίας.

great dimensions and importance, since it is not taken notice of by any other writer.—Whether political uprisings occurred in Judea under Domitian is certainly very questionable. From certain hints in a military diploma of A.D. 86, some have supposed that such disturbances must have taken place. Meanwhile, these conclusions have not by any means been satisfactorily proved. See above, p. 259.—On the other hand, the outbursts which occurred, first outside of Judea and afterwards in Judea itself, under Trajan and Hadrian, spread widely, and led to scenes of terrible violence.

2. The War under Trajan, A.D. 115–117.

Sources.

Dio Cassius, lxviii. 32.

Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 2; *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 164 sq.

Orosius, vii. 12, almost wholly according to Jerome's Latin reproduction of the Chronicle of Eusebius.

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MOMMSEN, *Römische Geschichte*, Bd. v. (1885) pp. 542–544. Compare p. 397 ff.

Trajan, during the last years of his life, A.D. 114–117, was incessantly occupied in bold expeditions of conquest in the farthest eastern parts of the empire.[41] While he was, in A.D. 115, engaged in the conquest of Mesopotamia, the Jews in Egypt and Cyrene, taking advantage of the emperor's absence, "as if driven along by the wild spirit of revolution, began to make riots against the non-Jewish inhabitants of the land."[42] The rebellion reached such dimensions in the following year, A.D. 116, that it assumed the character of a formal war.[43] The Roman governor of Egypt, M. Rutilius

[41] On Trajan's wars in the East, compare, besides the above-named works of Volkmar, H. Francke, *Zur Geschichte Trajan's* (2 Ausg. 1840), pp. 249–300; Dierauer, "Beiträge zu einer kritischen Geschichte Trajan's," pp. 152–186 (in Büdinger's *Untersuchungen zur römischen Kaisergeschichte*, Bd. i. 1868); De la Berge, *Essai sur le règne de Trajan* (Paris 1877), pp. 149–190; Schiller, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, i. 2 (1883) pp. 555–563; Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 397 ff.; Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans und seiner Nachbarländer* (1888), pp. 140–146.

[42] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 2: Ἐν τε γὰρ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ προσέτι κατὰ Κυρήνην ὥσπερ ὑπὸ πνεύματος δεινοῦ τινὸς καὶ στασιώδους ἀναῤῥιπισθέντες ὥρμηντο πρὸς τοὺς συνοίκους Ἕλληνας στασιάζειν. —With reference to the war in Egypt, the oldest witness, though very brief, is Appian, *Civ.* ii. 90. Appian there relates how that Caesar had dedicated a sanctuary at Alexandria to the memory of Pompey; and then proceeds: ὅπερ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα Τραϊανόν, ἐξολλύντα τὸ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Ἰουδαίων γένος, ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου χρείας κατηρείφθη.—Undoubtedly the reference is to this period in a fragment of Appian in which he tells how he had been obliged to flee from Egypt at the time of the war with the Jews (*Revue archéologique*, Nouve Série, t. xix. 1869, pp. 101–110 = Müller, *Fragmenta hist. graec.* (v. 1, p. lxv.).

[43] The chronology is not quite certain. Dierauer and Schiller assume

Lupus, seems not to have been aware of the strength of the Jews. In an engagement the rebel Jews conquered the "Greeks," and compelled them to fly to Alexandria. There,

for the Jewish revolt only the one year A.D. 117; Mommsen, the years 116–117; Clinton (*Fasti Romani*, t. i.), de la Berge, and others, the years 115–117 (the first beginning in 115, and extending more widely in 116). The latter view is the correct one. For Eusebius, not only in his Chronicle, whose dates are often quite arbitrarily given (*Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 164, *ad ann. Abr.* 2131), but also in his Church History, definitely characterizes the eighteenth year of Trajan as the time when the revolt began (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 2: ἤδη γοῦν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ὀκτωκαιδέκατον ἐλαύνοντος, αὖθις Ἰουδαίων κίνησις ἐπαναστᾶσα κ.τ.λ.). But the eighteenth year of Trajan reaches from the end of January 115 down to the end of January 116. (On the day of Nerva's death, see Dierauer, p. 27 f.) In the following year, that is, 116, and, indeed, while Lupus was governor of Egypt, the rebellion assumed larger proportions (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 2: αὐξήσαντές τε εἰς μέγα τὴν στάσιν τῷ ἐπιόντι ἐνιαυτῷ πόλεμον οὐ σμικρὸν συνῆψαν, ἡγουμένου τηνικαῦτα Λούπου τῆς ἁπάσης Αἰγύπτου).—The correctness of this statement is confirmed by the chronology of the governors of Egypt, which for these years can be determined with tolerable accuracy (comp. Franz in *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* t. iii. p. 312).

(1) On the inscription of a temple in the oasis of Thebes, M. Rutilius Lupus is referred to as governor of Egypt during the nineteenth year of Trajan, *i.e.* A.D. 116 (Letronne, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines de l'Égypte*, i. 120 sq. = *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* n. 4948: ἐπὶ Μάρκου Ρουτιλίου Λούπου ἐπάρχου Αἰγύπτου . . . Λ ιθ' αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νερούα Τραϊανοῦ . . . παχὼν λ'; the date corresponds to the 24th May A.D. 116.

(2) In order to quell the rebellion in Cyrene and Egypt, Trajan sent Marcius Turbo (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 2). That this man is to be regarded as governor of Egypt, is proved from the circumstance that the governor of Cyrene had no army; Turbo, therefore, can have fought against the rebels in those quarters only as governor of Egypt. From Spartian's *Vita Hadriani*, however, we know positively that Hadrian subsequently assigned Dacia to him *titulo Aegyptiacae praefecturae*, i.e. with permission to retain the honorary rank of governor of Egypt (Spartian, *Hadrian*, c. 7; compare Letronne, i. 164). Turbo was therefore the successor of Lupus, and that during the time of Trajan, A.D. 117.

(3) Eight months and a half after Trajan's death, *i.e.* in April A.D. 118, Rammius Martialis is described on an inscription as governor of Egypt (Letronne, *Recueil des inscriptions*, i. 153, n. xvi. = *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* n. 4713 f.: ἐπὶ Ῥαμμίῳ Μαρτιάλι ἐπάρχῳ Αἰγύπτου . . . β' αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραϊανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ . . . Φαρμουθὶ κη'; the date corresponds to 23rd April A.D. 118).—Marcius Turbo had therefore been recalled at the

in the capital, the Greeks had decidedly the upper hand, and the Jews residing there were seized and slain.[44]

Still more furiously did the Jews in Cyrene conduct themselves. Of the cruelties which the Jews there perpetrated upon their non-Jewish fellow-inhabitants a dreadful picture is presented by Dio Cassius. They ate their flesh, besmeared themselves with their blood, sawed them through from above downward, or gave them for food to the wild beasts. The number of the murdered is said to have been as many as 220,000.[45] Though here, certainly, the pen has been directed by the most extravagant fancy, the extent and importance of

latest in the beginning of A.D. 118 (compare also Spartian, *Hadrian*, 5: "Marcio Turbone Judaeis compressis ad deprimendum tumultum Mauretaniae destinato"). But since he had quelled the rebellion πολλαῖς μάχαις ἐν οὐκ ὀλίγῳ τε χρόνῳ (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 2), his period of office must have filled up the year 117. This is also confirmation of the view that the decided victory of the rebels over Lupus is to be put down to the year 116, and the first beginning of the revolt to the year 115.

[44] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 2; *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 164 sq. (at the eighteenth year of Trajan, 2131 Abr.); Orosius, vii. 12: "In Alexandria autem commisso proelio victi et adriti sunt." Compare also Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chald.* col. 99, *s.v.* אלכסנדריא; Derenbourg, *Histoire*, pp. 410–412; Wünsche, *Der jerusalemische Talmud* (1880), p. 125 f.—In the Chronicle of Eusebius it is remarked on the first year of Hadrian that this emperor restored Alexandria that had been destroyed by the Jews (or Romans?). See Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 164 sq., according to the Armenian: "Adrianus Alexandriam a Judaeis subversam restauravit;" according to Jerome: "Hadrianus Alexandriam a Romanis [sic] subversam publicis instauravit expensis." The city must therefore have suffered severely, even though it might not have been, strictly speaking, "destroyed." See, on the other side, Münter, pp. 19–23. The conjecture of Mommsen, that the statement did not originally stand in the text of Eusebius, and was only introduced by a misunderstanding of the Armenian and Latin translators (*Römische Geschichte*, v. 543) in presence of the agreement of the two, is not tenable.

[45] Dio Cassius, lxviii. 32. Compare Orosius, vii. 12: "Incredibili deinde motu sub uno tempore Judaei, quasi rabie efferati, per diversas terrarum partes exarserunt. Nam et per totam Libyam adversus incolas atrocissima bella gesserunt: quae adeo tunc interfectis cultoribus desolata est, ut nisi postea Hadrianus imperator collectas illuc aliunde colonias deduxisset, vacua penitus terra, abraso habitatore, mansisset. Aegyptum vero totam et Cyrenen et Thebaidam cruentis seditionibus turbaverunt."

the revolt are beyond all dispute. The leader of the Jewish population of Cyrene, whom they proclaimed as their king, is called by Eusebius, Lukuas, by Dio Cassius, Andrew.[46]

To suppress this revolt Trajan sent one of his best generals, Marcius Turbo.[47] By means of long-continued and persistent fighting (πολλαῖς μάχαις ἐν οὐκ ὀλίγῳ τε χρόνῳ) he brought the war to an end, and slew many thousands of the Jews, not only of Cyrene, but also those of Egypt, who had attached themselves to their "king" Lukuas.[48]

The outbreak had also spread to the island of Cyprus. Under the leadership of a certain Artemio, the Jews there imitated the example of their co-religionists of Cyrene, and murdered 24,000 non-Jewish inhabitants of the island.[49] The very capital, Salamis, was laid waste by them.[50] In regard to the suppression of the revolt we have no information. The consequence of it was that henceforth no Jew was

[46] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 2; Dio Cassius, lxviii. 32.

[47] According to an inscription at Sarmizegethusa in Dacia, his full name was Q. Marcius Turbo Fronto Publicius Severus (Orelli, *Inscr. Lat.* n. 831 = *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. n. 1462). The same, but incomplete, occurs in *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. xiv. n. 4243. — After the suppression of the Jewish revolt by Hadrian, Marcius Turbo became successively governor of Mauretania, Pannonia, Dacia (Spartian, *Hadrian.* c. 5 *fin.* 6 *fin.* 7), was appointed *praefectus praetorio* (Spartian, *Hadrian.* c. 9; Dio Cassius, lxix. 18; *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. n. 1462), and is described as one of the most active men of Hadrian's time (Dio Cassius, lxix. 18; *Frontonis epistulae*, ed. Naber, p. 165), but who, as many of his like had done, fell under the suspicion and awakened the dislike of Hadrian (Spartian, *Hadrian.* c. 15).

[48] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 2.—According to Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 164 sq.; Orosius, vii. 12, the revolt had also extended into the Thebaid.

[49] Dio Cassius, lxviii. 32.

[50] Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 164 sq. (on the nineteenth year of Trajan, 2132 Abr.). According to the Armenian: "Salaminam Cipri insulae urbem Judaei adorti sunt et Graecos, quos ibi nacti sunt, trucidarunt, urbemque a fundamentis subverterunt." According to the Greek in Syncellus, ed. Dindorf, i. 657: Τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τῆς Κύπρου Ἕλληνας Ἰουδαῖοι ἀνελόντες τὴν πόλιν κατέσκαψαν.—Orosius, vii. 12: "Sane Salaminam, urbem Cypri, interfectis omnibus accolis deleverunt."

allowed to appear upon the island; and if through stress of weather any Jew should happen to be cast upon its coasts, he was put to death.[51]

Finally, when Trajan had pressed on as far as Ctesiphon, the capital of the Parthian empire, the Jews of Mesopotamia in his rear had become disturbed. Such a disturbance there upon the very frontier of the empire was a most serious affair. Trajan gave orders to the Moorish prince Lusius Quietus, who was at the same time a Roman general, to sweep the rebels out of the province (ἐκκαθᾶραι τῆς ἐπαρχίας αὐτούς). With barbarous cruelty Quietus executed his commission. Thousands of Jews were put to death. Thus was order restored, and Quietus, in recognition of his services, was appointed governor of Palestine.[52]

The Jewish revolt was not, it would seem, finally suppressed until the beginning of Hadrian's reign in A.D. 117. At least Eusebius speaks of disturbances in Alexandria which Hadrian had to quell;[53] and the biographer of Hadrian states that Palestine also had taken its share in the rebellion.[54] In any case, however, perfect quiet seems to have been restored in the first year of Hadrian.

[51] Dio Cassius, lxviii. 32.

[52] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 2; *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 164 sq. (on the eighteenth year of Trajan, 2131 Abr.); Orosius, vii. 12; Dio Cassius, lxviii. 32 (who also gives many personal details about Quietus).—On Lusius Quietus compare also what is said above at p. 262. His name seems at an early date to have been corrupted in the text of the Chronicle of Eusebius, for Jerome has Lysias Quietus, and Syncellus (ed. Dindorf, i. 657), Λυσίας Κύντος. The correct form is given in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* ed. Heinichen, Dio Cassius, ed. Dindorf, and Spartian, *Hadrian.* c. 5.

[53] Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 164 sq. (on the 1st year of Hadrian, 2133 Abr.). According to the Armenian: "Adrianus Judaeos subegit ter [tertio] contra Romanos rebellantes." According to Jerome: "Hadrianus Judaeos capit secundo contra Romanos rebellantes." According to Syncellus: Ἀδριανὸς Ἰουδαίους κατὰ Ἀλεξανδρέων στασιάζοντας ἐκόλασεν,

[54] Spartan, *Hadrian.* c. 5: "Lycia denique ac Palaestina rebelles animos efferebant.

It is very doubtful indeed whether Palestine generally had any share in the rebellion. This is maintained by Volkmar and Grätz in the interest of their conception of the Book of Judith, which they place in this period; but it has been rightly contested by Lipsius and others.[55] Rabbinical tradition makes mention distinctly of a "war of Quietus," פּוּלְמוֹס שֶׁל קִיטוֹס;[56] but there is nothing to oblige us to understand by this any other than the well-known war of Quietus in Mesopotamia. In *Megillath, Taanith* § 29, the 12th Adar is designated the "day of Trajan," יום טוריינוס,[57] and the commentary upon this passage remarks that this day was celebrated in commemoration of the following incident:[58] Two brothers, Julianus and Pappus,

[55] Volkmar, *Theolog. Jahrbücher*, 1857, pp. 441–498, and especially, *Das Buch Judith* (1860), pp. 56 ff., 64 ff., 83 ff., 90 ff. Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iv. 439 ff. On the other side, see Lipsius, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1859, pp. 81–111. On the subject generally, Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift*, 1858, p. 270 ff., and 1861, p. 338 ff.; Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 405; Fritzsche in Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*, iii. 448 ff.; Renan, *Les évangiles*, p. 509; Gregorovius, *Hadrian*, (3 Aufl. 1884), pp. 27, 35–38.

[56] Mishna, *Sota* ix. 14, and *Seder Olam. sub fin.* In both passages, instead of the common reading of the text, פולמוס של טיטוס, we should read: פולמוס של קיטס. See Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iv. 439 ff.; Volkmar, *Judith*, pp. 83–90; Lipsius, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1859, pp. 97–104; Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 404 f.; Salzer, *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, iv. 1877, pp. 141–144.—In the Mishna passages קיטס is the reading in: (1) a manuscript of the Royal Library at Berlin (*MSS. Or.* fol. 567, previously in private hands; it is the same to which Grätz had referred). (2) The Cambridge Manuscript, edited by Lowe in 1883 (*University Additional*, 470. 1). In the passage from the *Seder Olam*, this same reading is found in an old manuscript collated by Azariah de Rossi. See Grätz in the work above quoted. In the latter passage this reading is also required by the context; for there are, according to it, fifty-two years to be reckoned between the war of Vespasian and the war of the קיטוס, and from that to the war of Ben-Cosiba (Bar-Cochba), 16 years. Also in the Mishna passage the war of the קיטס follows upon the war of Vespasian, and then after that "the last war," *i.e.* that of Bar-Cochba.

[57] Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, pp. 443, 446. On the forms of the name טוריינוס, טירין, etc., see Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 408.

[58] See Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 406 f.; Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iv. p. 445 ff.; Volkmar, *Judith*, pp. 90–100; Lipsius, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftl. Theologie*, 1859, pp. 104–110.

were arrested by Trajan at Laodicea, when the emperor called out to them in mockery: Let your God now save you as he saved Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. The two brothers replied that neither he nor they were worthy of having such a miracle wrought, but that God would indeed require their blood of him if he slew them. But before Trajan left that place, an order came from Rome, in consequence of which he was put to death. This fable, which deserves no attention whatever, as it proceeds on the assumption that Trajan was only a subordinate officer, is now forsooth offered as the principal evidence regarding the war of Trajan in Palestine! But it should be observed that even in it there is no mention either of a war or of Judea, but expressly of Laodicea.[59]—The one thing that seems to favour Volkmar's view is the statement of Spartian above referred to, according to which, in the beginning of Hadrian's reign, Palestine *rebellcs animos efferebat.* From this statement, indeed, it would seem to have been not altogether in a quiet condition. But it can hardly have gone the length of an actual war. Otherwise our original authorities would have given a more circumstantial account of it.

3. THE GREAT REBELLION UNDER HADRIAN, A.D. 132–135.

SOURCES.

DIO CASSIUS, lxix. 12–14.

EUSEBIUS, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 6; *Chronicon*, ed Schoene, ii. 166–169.

On Aristo of Pella, see vol. i. of this work, pp. 69–72.

Rabbinical traditions in Derenbourg, pp. 412–438. A collection of the rabbinical texts which refer to the history of Beth-ther is given in Lebrecht, *Bether*, pp. 43–50; comp. also p. 20 f.

On the coins, see Appendix IV.

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[59] At the basis of the legend there may lie probably an obscure reminiscence of the fact that Lusius Quietus, the oppressor of the Jews, was recalled by Hadrian, and subsequently executed (Spartian, *Hadrian.* 5 and 7).

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SCHWARZ, *Der Bar-Kochbaische Aufstand*, Brünn 1885 (worthless; see Bursian's *Jahresber. der class. Alterthumswissensch.* pp. 48, 282 f.).

A late Jewish legend tells how in the days of Joshua ben Chananiah, that is, in the time of Hadrian, the pagan government had granted authority to proceed with the building of the temple. But the Samaritans had made representations against the enterprise. And in consequence of these the emperor had not indeed withdrawn the permission, but issued a decree that the new building should not be erected precisely on the site of the old temple, which came to the same thing as an actual prohibition. Then the Jews gathered together in factions in the valley of Beth-Rimmon. But R. Joshua, in order to quiet them, told them the story of the lion and the stork: as the stork ought to be glad to have got its head uninjured out of the jaws of the lion, so also ought they to be glad if they were allowed to live in peace under a heathen government.[60] The historical value of this legend is simply *nil*, and yet it forms the chief ground for the view insisted upon by many modern scholars, that Hadrian had given permission for the rebuilding of the temple, and that the withdrawal of this permission was the real cause of the great Jewish rebellion.[61] In confirmation of this view reference is made to statements by Christian writers. But even these are little calculated to support such a theory. Chrysostom, Cedrenus, and Nicephorus Callistus only say that the Jews in the time of Hadrian had rebelled and made an attempt to rebuild the temple, and that Hadrian put a stop to that undertaking. The *Chronicon Paschale* speaks of a destruction by

[60] *Bereshith rabba* c. 64. See the passage in the original text, and in a French translation in Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, p. 416 sq. Text and Latin translation in Volkmar, *Judith*, pp. 108–111. German in Wünsche, *Der Midrasch Bereschit Rabba* (1881), p. 307 f.

[61] So Volkmar, *Judith*, pp. 108 ff., 131 ff.; Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iv. 138 ff., 442 ff.; Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, p. 412 sq.; Neubürger, *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1873, p. 433 ff.; Hausrath, *Zeitgeschichte*, iv. 328 f.; Salzer, *Magazin*, iii. 127 ff.; Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, art. "Hadrian."

Hadrian of the temple that had actually been built.[62] Of a permission to build the temple that had first been given by Hadrian and afterwards withdrawn, there is no mention whatever. The attempt to rebuild the temple was really itself one of the acts of the rebellion. An apparent support for this theory is to be found only in one passage in the Epistle of Barnabas, of which, however, the explanation is uncertain. Barnabas seeks to show that it is not according to God's will that the Jews should continue to observe the law. Their Sabbath is not the true one. "And almost like the heathens have they honoured God in a temple." In order to prove the heathenish character of the Jewish temple, Barnabas, in chap. xvi., quotes the prophecy of Isa. xlix. 17 (LXX.): "Behold, they who have cast down this temple, even they shall build it up again;" and then proceeds, in chap. xvi. 4: "It has so happened. For through their going to war it was destroyed by their enemies; and now they [together with] the servants of their enemies shall rebuild it" (*γίνεται· διὰ γὰρ τὸ πολεμεῖν αὐτοὺς καθῃρέθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν· νῦν καὶ αὐτοὶ [καὶ] οἱ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑπηρέται ἀνοικοδομήσουσιν αὐτόν*). Only if the bracketed *καί* be retained, is the expectation there set forth that now the Jews and the heathens together were to build in common the Jewish temple. By striking out the *καί* the meaning of the sentence becomes this: the heathens themselves build the temple, that is, for heathenish purposes. But on external grounds also the latter reading deserves the preference. Barnabas seems therefore to allude to Hadrian's intention to erect a building for heathen worship.[63]—Of the

[62] The passages are collected in Münter, p. 64 f., and Volkmar, *Judith*, pp. 131–134. Compare also under note 93.

[63] The *καί* is given only in the *Sinaiticus;* in all other texts it is wanting. The explanation given above, that the building was for heathen worship, is supported, for example, by Lipsius in Schenkel's *Bibellexion*, i. 371 f. The words have been understood of the aid given to the Jewish building by the heathens, especially by Volkmar, and that indeed even before

alleged permission given by Hadrian for the rebuilding of the Jewish temple, therefore, we do not meet with any trace when we investigate the causes of the rebellion.[64] Such permission, at least in the form of active encouragement, is also improbable on internal grounds. For while Hadrian zealously patronized the Greek-Roman religious rites, he looked with contempt upon all foreign superstitions.[65]

Only two accounts of the causes of the great rebellion are worthy of consideration. Spartian says:[66] "moverunt ea tempestate et Judaei bellum, quod vetabantur mutilare genitalia." Dio Cassius, on the contrary, gives his account thus:[67] "When Hadrian had founded at Jerusalem a city of his own in place of the one destroyed, which he called Aelia Capitolina, and on the site of the temple of their God erected another temple to Jupiter, the great and long-continued war broke out. For the Jews regarded it as a horrible outrage that foreigners should settle in their city, and that temples for strange gods should be built in it." Since Spartian men-

the discovery of the *Sinaiticus*, resting upon the common reading without the καί (*Theolog. Jahrbücher*, 1856, pp. 351–361, and elsewhere). He was followed by J. G. Müller, *Erklärung des Barnabasbriefes* (1869), pp. 334–340; Harnack, *Patrum apostolorum, Opera*, i. 2, ed. 2 (1878), pp. lxx.–lxxii., and I myself adopted this view in the first edition of this work. Others explain the words metaphorically of the building of the spiritual temple by the Gentile Christians. So, *e.g.*, Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift für wissensch. Theologie*, 1870, pp. 116–121; *Barnabae epistula*, ed. 2, 1877, pp. 119–123; Wieseler, *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1870, pp. 612–614; Riggenbach, *Der sogenannte Brief des Barnabas* (1873), pp. 41–45. But according to the language of the passage it evidently treats of the rebuilding of the actual temple. Barnabas wishes to say: this temple was not better than a heathen temple, as even then it actually was rebuilt by the heathen. Special emphasis should be laid on the αὐτόν at the close. Against Weizsäcker's reference to the building of Zerubbabel (*Zur Kritik des Barnabasbriefes*, 1863, p. 21 ff.), the νῦν and the future are decisive.

[64] Compare Renan, *L'église chrétienne*, p. 24; Schiller, *Geschichte der röm. Kaiserzeit*, i. 613; Gregorovius, *Hadrian*, 3 Aufl. p. 38 f.

[65] Spartian, *vita Hadriani*, c. 22 (in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, ed. Peter): sacra Romana diligentissime curavit, peregrina contempsit.

[66] Spartian, *Hadrian*. 14. [67] Dio Cassius, lxix. 12.

tions only the one and Dio Cassius only the other, it is doubtful whether without more ado we are entitled to combine the two. Gregorovius rejects the statement of Spartian, and regards that of Dio Cassius as alone worthy of credence. In fact, a prohibition of circumcision, without any special occasion, seems little in accordance with the mild character of Hadrian, although it might quite conceivably be used for the purpose of securing the extinction of the Jews after the suppression of the revolt.[68] Nevertheless, the statement of Spartian is to be defended. For, according to all that we know, the prohibition of circumcision was not limited to the Jews, and was not immediately directed against them. When, under Antoninus Pius, the Jews were again allowed to circumcise their children, the prohibition still stood good against the non-Jewish peoples. It was therefore originally a general order.[68a] The special feature of this legislation was

[68] Compare Gregorovius, *Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philol. und hist. Classe der Münchener Akademie*, 1883, p. 499 ff.; *Der Kaiser Hadrian*, p. 188 ff. In favour of Gregorovius' view one might refer to the state of the original documents. Dio Cassius, as well as Spartian, founds partly on the autobiography of Hadrian (see Dio Cassius, lxix. 11, ὡς Ἁδριανὸς γράφει; Spartian, 1. 1, "in libris vitae suae Hadrianus ipse commemorat;" 7. 2, "ut ipse vita sua dicit;" comp. also 3. 3, and 3. 5). In Dio Cassius, however, the history of the Jewish war follows immediately upon the quotation from the autobiography, and may probably have been derived from it. So thinks Dürr, *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*, 1881, p. 14. On the other hand, it seems probable that Spartian derives his short notice of the Jewish war from some other source (Dürr, *Reisen*, p. 82).

[68a] Modestinus, *Digest.* xlviii. 8. 11, pr.: "Circumcidere Judaeis filios suos tantum rescripto divi Pii permittitur: in non ejusdem religionis qui hoc fecerit, castrantis poena irrogatur." This statement of fact is also corroborated by other witnesses. In the Syrian Dialogue on Fate, which is ascribed to Bardesanes, as a historical instance of the fact that ofttimes kings when they conquer foreign countries have abolished the native laws and introduced their own without the stars putting any hindrance in the way, this is advanced as pre-eminently applicable, that only shortly before the Romans, after the conquest of Arabia, had abolished the laws of that country, especially the law regarding circumcision (Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum*, 1855, p. 30; in the somewhat abbreviated text in Eusebius,

not that it aimed at the rooting out of Judaism, but that it placed circumcision on the same level with castration, and punished its practice accordingly.[63b] The prohibition was not, therefore, first of all directed against Judaism, but it is at the same time quite evident that Judaism would receive from it a deadly wound. In addition to this it was now made known that Hadrian designed the erection of a new heathen city upon the ruins of Jerusalem. In this also the ruling motive was not hostility to Judaism. The rearing of magnificent buildings and the founding of cities was the work to which Hadrian devoted the energies of his life. But this proposal must also have been regarded as a blow in the face to Judaism. So long as Jerusalem lay in ruins, the Jews could cherish the hope of its restoration. The founding of a heathen city, the erection of a heathen temple on the holy place, put an end to these hopes in terrible manner. It was an outrage

Praeparatio evangel. vi. 10. 41, ed. Gaisford, the prohibition of circumcision is not mentioned). But the same author speaks immediately after of circumcision as an existing institution among the Jews. He witnesses, therefore, precisely to the condition of matters as determined by Antoninus Pius. A further witness for this is Origen, who distinctly says that only the Jews were allowed to practise circumcision, but that it was forbidden to all others on the pain of death (*Contra Cels.* ii. 13). The jurist Paulus, a contemporary of Origen, says, *Sent.* v. 22. 3–4 (in Huschke's *Jurisprudentiae antejustinianae quae supersunt*, ed. 5, Lips. 1886): "Cives Romani, qui se Judaico ritu vel servos suos circumcidi patiuntur bonis ademptis in insulam perpetuo relegantur; medici capite puniuntur. Judaei si alienae nationis comparatos servos circumciderunt, aut deportantur aut capite puniuntur." The prohibition, therefore, by no means applied especially to the Jews, but they rather were by Hadrian's immediate successor expressly excluded from its application. Compare also Nöldeke, *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenland Gesellschaft*, Bd. 39, 1885, p. 343 (who has also paid attention to the above passage in the Dialogue on Fate). Gieseler, *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i. p. 119.

[63b] Compare Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 549.—Hadrian strictly forbade castration; it was to be punished under the *lex Cornelia de sicariis*, i.e. it was treated as murder (*Digest.* xlviii. 8. 4. 2). That circumcision was treated in the same category as castration, is seen from the passage quoted above from Modestinus.

as great as that which Antiochus Epiphanes had formerly committed, and was answered, as that had been, by a general uprising of the excited people.—Both reasons, therefore, are not in themselves improbable. A combination of the two is a suggestion which has much to commend it, if the two enactments of Hadrian were not too far separated in time from one another.

In regard to the date at which the building of the Aelia Capitolina was begun, various statements are given in the original authorities. Epiphanius had been informed that Hadrian, forty-seven years after the destruction of Jerusalem, when he arrived there on his second journey, gave orders to rebuild the city (not the temple), and commissioned Aquila to see the work done.[69] This indication of date gives us A.D. 117, immediately after Hadrian's accession to the throne. He was then certainly in the East, but Epiphanius expressly refers to his later journey taken from Rome, and thus his statement regarding the time is deprived of all its value.[70] The *Chronicon Paschale* places the founding of Aelia Capitolina in A.D. 119; but it does so only because it has also placed the great Jewish rebellion in that year, after the quelling of which Aelia was founded.[71] With the date fixed for the Jewish rebellion, which is demonstrably false, falls also that fixed for the founding of Aelia.[72] Eusebius also regards the founding of the city as a consequence of the rebellion.[73] This is correct, inasmuch as only thereafter was the plan carried out. But, according to Dio Cassius, it is not to be doubted

[69] Epiphanius, *De mensuris et ponderibus*, § 14.

[70] It has been turned to account as serviceable by Dürr, *Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*, p. 16. Against it: Gregorovius, *Sitzungsberichte*, 1883, p. 489.

[71] *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf, i. 474.

[72] See also Gregorovius, *Sitzungsberichte*, 1883, p. 493 f.—Renan's assertion, that the founding took place about A.D. 122 (*L'église chretienne*, p. 26), has no support from the original authorities.

[73] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 6.

that the building had already been begun before the outbreak of the rebellion, and indeed not very long before, for he says that the Jews, who were irritated about the building, remained quiet so long as Hadrian stayed in Egypt and Syria, but that they broke out so soon as he had left those regions.[74] In accordance with this, it must be assumed that the founding of the city took place during the period of Hadrian's visit to Syria, which occurred in A.D. 130.

Hadrian at that time—it was during his last great journey in the East—arrived in Syria from Greece, and thence went to Egypt, and then back again to Syria.[75] It is made certain from inscriptions and coins that he was in Syria in A.D. 130, in Egypt in November A.D. 130, and so again in Syria in A.D. 131.[76] Generally, wherever he went he furthered the

[74] Dio Cassius, lxix. 12.

[75] This route is particularly described in Dio Cassius, lxix. 11–12.

[76] That Hadrian's visit to Egypt occurred in A.D. 130, upon which all the other dates turn, has been proved by Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum*, vi. 489–491. He is followed by: Haakh in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, iii. 1035, article "Hadrianus;" Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, t. i. 1885, *ad ann.* 129–131, *p. Chr.*; Letronne, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines de l'Égypte*, t. ii. 1848, pp. 364–367; Dürr, *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*, 1881, pp. 62–65. For a further list of the literature, see Dürr, pp. 7, 8.—The principal proofs are: (1) An inscription at Palmyra of the year [4]42 *acr. Seleuc.* = A.D. 130–131, assumes a previous visit of Hadrian to Palmyra (De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale, Inscriptions de Palmyre*, n. 16; Le Bas and Waddington, *Inscriptions*, t. iii. n. 2585). (2) The coins of Gaza of the time of Hadrian have an era beginning with A.D. 129 or 130, the occasion of which was certainly Hadrian's residence in Gaza, and the benefits that had been thereby conferred upon the city. On this see the literature mentioned in Div. II. vol. i. p. 72. The year 1 of the new era is the year 190–191 of the old era of Gaza; and as this earlier era began in B.C. 60 or 61, is equivalent to A.D. 129 or 130. But even if one should assume A.D. 129 with Stark, *Gaza*, p. 550, Hadrian's visit may still be put down as A.D. 130, since the commencement of the era may not be exactly synchronous with Hadrian's visit. (3) In Alexandria coins of Hadrian were minted in the fifteenth year of the emperor, that is, according to the reckoning commonly used in Egypt, A.D. 130–131. According to all analogies, it must be assumed that this must have occurred at the celebration of Hadrian's visit (Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* vi. 489 sq.). (4) The most

interests of culture: artistic and useful buildings were erected: games were celebrated: he was a *restitutor* in all the provinces.[77] In the cities of Palestine also we come upon traces of his presence. Tiberias had obtained an *Ἀδριάνειον*; Gaza, a *πανήγυρις Ἀδριανή*; Petra, in grateful remembrance of the benefactions of the emperor, took the name of *Ἀδριανὴ Πέτρα*.[78] His residence in Judea was commemorated by coins bearing the inscription, *adventui Aug(usti) Judaeae*.[79]

The founding of Aelia also, without doubt, belongs to the period of the emperor's activity. Pliny calls Jerusalem

precise information is supplied by an inscription on the Memnon statue at Thebes, from which it appears that Hadrian was there in the fifteenth year of his reign, in the month Athyr. This date corresponds to November A.D. 130. For the words of the inscription, see Eckhel and Clinton; more correctly given in Letronne, ii. 365, and Dürr, p. 123; also in *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* n. 4727. An exact facsimile is given by Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, Bd. xii. bl. 78; *Inscrip. Graec.* n. 91. On the reckoning of the years of the emperor's prevailing in Egypt, especially the years of Hadrian, see Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. 117 ff.

[77] Compare generally: Dürr, *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*, p. 4 f.; Gregorovius, *Der Kaiser Hadrian*, 3 Aufl. p. 468 ff.—On numerous inscriptions Hadrian is called *σωτήρ, οἰκιστής, εὐεργέτης, κτίστης*. See the texts in Dürr, p. 104 ff. On coins of Hadrian are found the following inscriptions: restitutori Achaiae, restitutori Africae, restitutori Arabiae, restitutori Asiae, restitutori Bithyniae, restitutori Galliae, restitutori Hispaniae, restitutori Italiae, restitutori Libyae, restitutori Macedoniae, restitutori Nicomediae, restitutori orbis terrarum, restitutori Phrygiae, restitutori Siciliae." See Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* vi. 486–500; Cohen, *Médailles impériales*, ed. 2, t. ii. 1882, pp. 209–214.

[78] On Tiberias, see Epiphanius, *Haer.* 30. 12: *ναὸς δὲ μέγιστος ἐν τῇ πόλει προϋπῆρχε· τάχα, οἶμαι, Ἀδριάνειον τοῦτο ἐκάλουν.* — On Gaza, *Chronicon*, ed. Dindorf, i. 474: *καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔστησεν πανήγυριν . . . καὶ ἕως τοῦ νῦν ἡ πανήγυρις ἐκείνη λέγεται Ἀδριανή.*—The coins of Petra with the superscription: *Ἀδριανὴ Πέτρα*, in Mionnet, *Description de Médailles*, v. 587–589; *Suppl.* viii. 387 sq.; De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, pp. 351–353.

[79] Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* vi. 495 sq.; Madden, *Coins of the Jews* (1881), p. 231; Cohen, *Médailles impériales*, ed. 2, t. ii. p. 110 sq. The coins were minted in Rome (S. C.).—There were similar coins for almost all the provinces. See Eckhel, vi. 486–501; Cohen, ii. 107–112.

longe clarissima urbium orientis, non Judaeae modo.[80] This celebrated city now lay in ruins, or was still merely a Roman camp. What then could be more attractive to the emperor than the restoring of such a city to its former magnificence? It was, however, manifestly intended that this new magnificence should be of a heathen character. A temple of the Capitoline Jupiter was to be erected on the spot where formerly the temple of the God of the Jews had stood. This was the fatal proposal. The Jews had been roused to a most violent degree by means of the order, issued probably not long before, against the practice of circumcision. And now to that was added a new outrage. By means of this proposed profanation of their city matters were brought to a crisis. The people remained quiet so long as the emperor remained in Egypt, and during his second visit to Syria. But when he was no longer in the neighbourhood, that is, in A.D. 132, they broke out into revolt: an uprising that, in its extent and violence, and its unhappy consequences, was at least as serious as that of the time of Vespasian. If it does not bulk so largely in our records, it is only because of the meagreness of the original sources of information that have come down to us.[81]

The leader of the revolt is called in the works of Christian writers Cochba or Bar-Cochba, and by the rabbinical authorities Barcosiba or Bencosiba.[82] The one as well as the other

[80] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 14. 70.

[81] From Dio Cassius, lxix. 12, it appears that the founding of Aelia occurred in the time of Hadrian's first visit to Syria, A.D. 130, but the outbreak of the rebellion after his second visit in A.D. 131, and so probably in A.D. 132. In fact, the Chronicle of Eusebius places the beginning of the rebellion in the sixteenth year of Hadrian, *i.e.* A.D. 132–133 (Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 166 sq.).

[82] Χοχεβᾶς and Chochebas are the forms of the name in the Chronicle of Eusebius, and in Jerome, *ad ann. Abr.* 2149 (ed. Schoene, ii. 168 sq.; the Greek form in Syncellus, ed. Dindorf, i. 660); so too in Orosius, vii. 13 (ed. Zangemeister). Βαρχωχίβας in Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 31 (ed. Otto), and Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 6 (ed. Heinichen); the passage from Justin also in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 8. Barcochabas in Jerome, *Adv.*

is only a designation; the former distinguishes him as the star, or the son of the star, with reference to Num. xxiv. 18, which passage R. Akiba applied to him;[83] the latter is a name derived either from his father (the son of Cosiba) or from his home (the man of Cosiba), and not until a comparatively late period, and only by a few individual writers, in view of his miserable collapse, was it taken to mean liar or deceiver.[84] The designation Cochba or Bar-Cochba was apparently chosen on account of its similarity in sound to Barcosiba, but seems to have become pretty generally current, since the Christian authorities are acquainted with it alone. The coins have

Rufin. iii. 31 (*Opp.* ed. Vallarsi, ii. 559).—In the rabbinical sources, on the other hand, we have בר כוזיבא or בן כוזיבא (Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, p. 423; Lebrecht, *Bether*, p. 13).—Compare in regard to him generally: Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chald.* col. 1028 (*s.v.* כזב); Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 423 sqq.; Salzer, *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, iii. 184 ff.; Lebrecht, *Bether* (1877), pp. 12–20; Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, article "Barkochba;" Levy, *Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, ii. 312.

[83] *Jer. Taanith* iv. fol. 68[d] (Cracow ed.): "R. Simon ben Jochai said: R. Akiba my teacher expounded the passage: There shall go a star (כוכב) out of Jacob" (Num. xxiv. 17), as follows: 'There goes כוזבא out from Jacob.' When R. Akiba saw Barcosiba he said, This is the king Messiah. Then said to him R. Jochanan ben Torta: Akiba, the grass will grow out of thy jaw-bone, and yet the Son of David will not have come." See the text in Lebrecht, *Bether*, p. 44; German in Wünsche, *Der Jerusalemische Talmud*, 1880, p. 157.—The correct explanation of Cochba as meaning a star (ἀστήρ) is also given in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 6, and Syncellus, i. 660. According to Eusebius, Barcoshba also gave himself out for a φωστὴρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ.

[84] Since Barcosiba or Bencosiba is the prevailing form, even in the mouths of such as esteemed him highly, like Akiba, it cannot have had a disrespectful meaning. Cosiba is either the name of his father (so in earlier days, Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 423, note 3) or of his home, כזבא, 1 Chron. iv. 22=כזיב, Gen. xxxviii. 5=אכזיב, in the tribe of Judah, Josh. xv. 44; Micah i. 14 (hardly to be identified with אכזיב in the tribe of Asher = Ekdippa, between Tyre and Ptolemais, as conjectured by Derenbourg, *Mélanges publiés par l'école des hautes études*, 1878, p. 157 sq.).—The rendering of it כוזב, "Liar," makes its appearance first in the Midrash, *Echa rabbathi*, see Levy, *Neuhebräishches Wörterbuch*, ii. 312; the text is given in Lebrecht, *Bether*, p. 46; in German in Wünsche, *Der Midrasch Echa rabbati*, 1881, p. 100.

preserved for us the proper name of two men. For it is a fact scarcely admitting of question that the Simon-coins, some of which certainly, and others most probably, were stamped during the period of this outbreak, were issued by the leader of this outbreak, who was certainly Bar-Cochba. Those minted in the first year have the inscription, "Simon, Prince of Israel," שמעון נשיא ישראל; those minted in the second year have only the name "Simon" שמעון. On some the figure of a star appears over that of a temple. Besides the Simon-coins there are also coins of the first year with the inscription, "Eleasar the Priest," אלעזר הכהן. There thus seem to have been two men at the head of the rebellion, besides the Prince Simon, the Priest Eleasar. After the second year there are no more Eleasar-coins.[85] Since in late rabbinical documents the R. Eleasar of Modein, who is also known from other sources, is described as the uncle of Barcosiba,[86] some have ventured to conjecture that this man is the same as the one named "Eleasar the Priest" on the coins.[87] But there is nothing anywhere to indicate that Eleasar of Modein was a priest.

The application of the designation of the "Star," which should come out of Jacob, to Barcosiba, shows that he was regarded as the Messiah. R. Akiba, the most celebrated doctor of the law in his time, is said to have distinctly announced him as such.[88] And though, indeed, all the colleagues of Akiba did not recognise him, he had the mass

[85] See on the coins generally, Appendix IV.—The coins with the star are given, *e.g.*, in Madden, *Coins of the Jews* (1881), pp. 239, 244.

[86] Midrash on *Echa* ii. 2; *Gittin* 57ª (in Derenbourg, *Histoire*, pp. 424, 433. See on Eleasar of Modein: Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten* (1884), pp. 194–219. ר' אליעזר הקודעו is frequently referred to in the Mechilta. See above, vol. i. p. 209 f.

[87] Ewald, *History of Israel*, viii. 291; De Saulcy, *Revue Num.* 1865, p. 44.

[88] See the passage quoted in note 83; also Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, p. 291 f. On Akiba generally: Div. II. vol. i. p. 375 f., and the literature there referred to.

of the people on his side. As in the days of Vespasian, so also at this time there was a widespread idea that the day had come when the old prophecy of the prophets would be fulfilled, and Israel would cast off the yoke of the Gentiles. The Christian legends also declare that Barcosiba bewitched the people by deceitful miracles.[88a]—Just by reason of the Messianic character of the movement it was quite impossible for Christians to take part in it. They could not deny their own Messiah by recognising the leader of the political revolution as such. Hence they were persecuted with peculiar violence by the new Messiah, as Justin Martyr and Eusebius testify.[89]

The rebellion spread rapidly over all Palestine. Wherever strongholds, castles, caverns, subterranean passages afforded hiding-places, there were those who struggled for native customs and freedom gathered together. An open conflict they avoided; but from their dens in the mountains they made devastating raids upon the country, and fought with all who did not attach themselves to their party.[90] Jerusalem also was certainly beset by the rebels. The doubt which many, on the other hand, have raised is mainly supported by

[88a] Jerome, *adv. Rufin.* iii. 21 (*Opp.* ed. Vallarsi, ii. 559). Jerome says there to his opponent Rufinus that he spits fire "ut ille Barchochabas, auctor seditionis Judaicae, stipulam in ore succensam anhelitu ventilabat, ut flammas evomere putaretur."

[89] Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 31: Καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ νῦν γεγενημένῳ Ἰουδαϊκῷ πολέμῳ Βαρχωχέβας, ὁ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀποστάσεως ἀρχηγέτης, Χριστιανοὺς μόνους εἰς τιμωρίας δεινάς, εἰ μὴ ἀρνοῖντο Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ βλασφημοῖεν, ἐκέλευεν ἀπάγεσθαι. Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 168 sq. *ad. ann. Abr.* 2149. According to the Armenian: "Qui dux rebellionis Judaeorum erat Chochebas, multos e Christianis diversis suppliciis affecit, quia nolebant procedere cum illo ad pugnam contra Romanos." So, too, the Latin reproduction of Jerome in Schoene, and Syncellus, ed. Dindorf, i. 660. Compare also Orosius, vii. 13.

[90] Dio Cassius, lxix. 12. Compare Jerome, *Chronicon*, *ad ann. Abr.* 2148 (Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 167): "Judaei in arma versi Palestinam depopulati sunt." The Armenian text of Eusebius has: "Judae rebellarunt et Palestinensium terram invaserunt."

this, that in the more trustworthy sources (Dio Cassius and Eusebius' *Church History*) there is no mention of a war at Jerusalem. But how unspeakably meagre are these sources generally! Even upon internal grounds it is probable that the rebels, who were at the beginning victorious, should have made themselves masters of Jerusalem, which was not then a strongly fortified city, but only a Roman camp. But this conjecture is confirmed by twofold testimony. In the first place by the coins.[91] The coins that with the greatest confidence can be set down to this period, bear on the one side the name of Simon, שמעון, and on the other side the superscription, לחרות ירושלם, *lechêruth Jeruschalêm*, "the freedom of Jerusalem." Therefore, the freeing of Jerusalem was commemorated by Simon on the coins. But there are among the coins belonging to this period also examples which, besides the date "First Year of the freeing of Israel" or "Second Year of the freedom of Israel," bear only the name Jerusalem, ירושלם. These, therefore, have been minted by the city itself in its own name, and hence we see that this city in the first year as well as in the second was in the hands of the rebels. In addition to this witness from the coins, we have the contemporary Appian, by whom, as will be told farther on, the fact of the reconquest of Jerusalem by the Romans is declared as a fact.[92]—Whether during these troubled years of

[91] In regard to these see Appendix IV.

[92] The besieging of Jerusalem by the rebels has been contested, without any sufficient ground, by Cassel in his article "Juden" in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopaedie*, sec. ii. Bd. 27, p. 14, and by Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums*, ii. 79, note. Also Renan declares that it is very improbable, in the treatise: "Jérusalem a-t-elle été assiégée et détruite une troisième fois sous Adrien?" in *Revue historique*, t. ii. 1876, pp. 112–120 = *L'église chrétienne*, 1879, pp. 541–553. His final judgment is: "que l'occupation de Jérusalem ait été un épisode court de ladite guerre, cela est strictement possible; c'est peu probable cependant;" see *Revue*, ii. 119 = *L'église chrétienne*, p. 551. Gregorovius, founding upon the coins, holds it as probable that the rebels gained at least a temporary possession of Jerusalem, but denies that it had been the scene of any regular fighting (*Der Kaiser Hadrian*,

war the rebuilding of the Jewish temple may actually have been begun must be left undecided. Late Christians declare that this was so, and the intention to carry on this work was certainly entertained.[93]

In regard to the progress of the war we know almost nothing. When it broke out Tineius Rufus was governor of Judea.[94] When he was unable with his troops to crush the rebels, the revolt not only increased in dimension and importance throughout all Palestine, but also spread itself far out beyond the limits of that country. Unstable and restless elements indeed of another sort attached themselves to the Jewish rebellion, so that at last "the whole world, so to speak, was in commotion."[95] The severest measures were necessary

3 Aufl. pp. 194, 200 f.; *Sitzungsberichte der Münchener Akademie*, 1883, pp. 502–505). Similarly Selzer, *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, iv. 22 f. Upon the whole the besieging of Jerusalem by the rebels is admitted by most, *e.g.* Deyling, *Observationes sacrae*, t. v. Lips. 1748, pp. 455–460 (in the dissertation: "Aeliae Capitolinae origines et historia"); Münter, *Der jüdische Krieg*, pp. 56 ff., 69 ff.; also Schiller, *Geschichte der röm. Kaiserzeit*, i. 612, note; Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 545.

[93] Chrysostom, *Orat. adv. Judaeos*, v. 10, speaks of an attempt at the rebuilding of the temple in the time of Hadrian. He endeavours there to show that the destruction of the temple had been brought about by the will of God. If the Jews had not made the attempt to build again the temple, then they might say: If we had chosen we might have built it again. Νυνὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς δείκνυμι, ὅτι οὐχ ἅπαξ, οὐδὲ δίς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρὶς ἐπιχειρήσαντας καὶ ῥαγέντας, namely, under Hadrian, Constantine, and Julian.—Georgius Cedrenus, ed. Bekker, i. 437, relates: ἐφ' οὗ στασιασάντων τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ναὸν οἰκοδομῆσαι βουληθέντων ὀργίζεται κατ' αὐτῶν σφόδρα καὶ πολέμου γενομένου μεταξὺ ἀνεῖλεν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ μυριάδας νη'. In the details of his statement this Cedrenus agrees so exactly with the statement of Chrysostom that it is apparent that he must have drawn his information either directly from Chrysostom, or else from the sources which Chrysostom had used. Nicephorus Callistus also, in his *Eccles. Hist.* iii. 24 (Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* t. cxlv.), reproduces this report. The *Chronicon Paschale* asserts that Hadrian at the building of Aelia, after the suppression of the revolt, destroyed the Jewish temple (ed. Dindorf, i. 474: καθελὼν τὸν ναὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις).—Much weight cannot be laid upon any of these witnesses.

[94] On the correct form of his name see above, p. 263.

[95] Dio Cassius, lxix. 13: πάσης ὡς εἰπεῖν κινουμένης ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῇ οἰκουμένης.

in order to put an end to the uproar. Large bodies of troops from other provinces were called in to strengthen the resident garrison. The best generals were commissioned for Palestine.[96]

[96] On the increasing of the strength of the troops: Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 6. 1; *Chronicon, ad ann. Abr.* 2148.—Generals: Dio Cassius, lxix. 13: *τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ Ἁδριανὸς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν.*—By inscriptions it can be proved that the following troops took part in the war (see Darmesteter, *Revue des études juives*, t. i. 1880, pp. 42–49; Schiller, *Geschichte der röm. Kaiserzeit*, i. 614, note; the facts are very incorrectly stated by Gregorovius, *Der Kaiser Hadrian*, p. 199: (1) The *leg. III. Cyrenaica*, which from the time of Augustus to that of Trajan had remained in Egypt, and since the time of Trajan had formed the garrison of the new province of Arabia (Pfitzner, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserlegionen*, 1881, p. 227 f.). A tribune belonging to the legion was presented "donis militaribus a divo Hadriano ob Judaicam expeditionem" (Orelli-Henzen, *Inscr. Lat.* n. 6501 = *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. xiv. n. 3610); a centurion of this same legion received "ab imp. Hadriano corona aurea torquibus armillis phaleris ob bellum Judeicum" (Orelli, n. 832 = *Inscr. Regni Neap.* n. 3542 = *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. x. n. 3733).—(2) The *leg. III. Gallica*, which probably from the time of Augustus belonged to the garrison of Syria (see above, p. 50; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Bd. ii. 1876, p. 432 ff.; Pfitzner, p. 228 ff.). An *emeritus* of this legion was presented "ex voluntate imp. Hadriani Aug. torquibus et armillis aureis," undoubtedly in connection with the Jewish war (Orelli, n. 3571).—(3) It is also self-evident that the *leg. X. Fretensis*, as the resident garrison troops of Judea, would take part in the war. A centurion of that legion was presented "ab divo Hadriano ob bellum Judaicum corona aurea torquibus armillis phaleris" (*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 1888, p. 424 sqq. = *Revue des études juives*, t. xvii. 1888, p. 299 sq.).—(4) Presumably also the *legio VI. Ferrata* took part in the war, for it had previously formed part of the garrison of Syria, and formed from the time of Hadrian, along with the *leg. X. Fretensis*, the garrison of Judea (see above, pp. 50, 257 f.). On the other hand, the co-operation of the *leg. IV. Scythica* in this war is highly improbable, although insisted upon by Darmesteter. See on this point the next note.—(5) Of auxiliary cohorts, of which undoubtedly a great number took part in the war, the inscriptions refer to the *coh. IV. Lingonum*, the commander of which was presented "vexillo mil(itari) a divo Hadriano in expeditione Judaica" (Orelli-Henzen, n. 5480 = *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. vi. n. 1523).—(6) A detachment, which took part in the Jewish war, is also mentioned in *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. vi. n. 3505: "Sex. Attius Senecio praef. alae I. Fl. Gaetulorum, trib. leg. X. Geminae, missus a Divo Hadriano in expeditione Judaica ad vexilla(tiones deducendas?)." It would appear as if this detachment had been taken from the *leg. X. Gemina*, which was stationed

Even the governor of Syria, Publicius Marcellus, hasted to the aid of his endangered colleague.[97] But it seems that Rufus for the most of the time retained the supreme command; for Eusebius names no other Roman commander, and speaks as if the suppression of the revolt was accomplished by Rufus.[98] In rabbinical authorities also, "Rufus the Tyrant," טורנס רופוס, appears the chief enemy of the Jews at that time.[99] But

in Pannonia.—(7) Also the Syrian fleet had been called to give assistance (*classis Syriaca*), for its commander was presented "donis militaribus a divo Hadriano ob bellum Judaicum" (Orelli-Henzen, n. 6924 = Renier, *Inscriptions de l'Algérie*, n. 3518 = *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. viii. n. 8934). That the fleet did actually engage in a *bellum Judaeicum* is also stated in a fragmentary inscription, *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. vi. n. 1565. Here too the reference clearly is to the war of Hadrian (so Mommsen, *Ephemeris epigraphica*, iii. p. 331). On an inscription in honour of a certain P. Lucilius Gamala at Ostia, near Rome, mention is made of a *bellum navale*, to which Ostia had contributed a large contingent. Since this Lucilius Gamala, according to another inscription, lived in the times of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius, it might indeed have been the Jewish war of Hadrian that he was engaged in. But it is probably the Marcomanian war of Marcus Aurelius that is intended. See the two inscriptions in the *Annali dell' Instituto*, 1857, p. 323 sqq.; and for their explanation, especially Mommsen, *Ephemeris epigraphica*, t. iii. 1877, pp. 319–332.

[97] *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* n. 4033 and 4034 (the former = *Archäolog.-epigraph. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, ix. 118). In both inscriptions, which are almost literal copies of each other, it is told that Ti. (or P.?) Severus was commander of the *leg. IV. Scythica*, and administered Syria as commissary when Publicius Marcellus had left Syria on account of the outbreak of the Jewish revolt(Σιούηρον . . . ἡγεμόνα λεγεῶνος δ' Σκυθικῆς καὶ διοκήσαντα τὰ ἐν Συρίᾳ πράγματα, ἡνίκα Πουβλίκιος Μάρκελλος διὰ τὴν κίνησιν τὴν Ἰουδαϊκὴν μεταβεβήκει ἀπὸ Συρίας). Publicius Marcellus led a portion of the Syrian garrison, which consisted of three legions (Pfitzner, p. 187), against Judea, while Severus undertook as commissary the administration of Syria, presumably still retaining the command of his legion. The *leg. IV. Scythica* therefore probably remained in Syria.

[98] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 6. 1: πολέμου τε νόμῳ τὰς χώρας αὐτῶν ἐξανδραποδιζόμενος.

[99] *Bab. Taanith* 29ᵃ in Derenbourg, *Historie*, p. 422. Generally: Schoettgen, *Horae hebraicae*, ii. 953–957; Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chaldaicum*, col. 916 (*s.v.* טרן); Levy, *Neuhebraïsches Wörterbuch*, ii. 149, *s.v.* טורנוס; Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, 1884, pp. 294–300 = *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1883, pp. 303 ff. 347 ff.—The form טורנוס רופוס is indeed only a corruption of Tineius

from Dio Cassius, whose statements on this point are corroborated by the testimony of inscriptions, we know that during the last period of the war Julius Severus, one of the most distinguished of Hadrian's generals, had the supreme command, and that it was he who succeeded in bringing the rebellion to an end. He was summoned from Britain to conduct this war, and took a considerable time in crushing the revolt. In an open engagement no decisive result was gained. The rebels had to be hunted out of their hiding-places one by one; and, where they kept concealed in mountain caverns, they were exhausted by having their supplies cut off. Only after long continued conflicts with individuals, in which there was great expenditure of life, did he at last succeed in harrying, exterminating, and rooting them out of the whole country (*κατατρῖψαι καὶ ἐκτρυχῶσαι καὶ ἐκκόψαι*).[100]

Where Hadrian was residing during the war cannot be determined with certainty. Probably during the critical year he was himself personally present at the seat of war. He had left Syria before the rebellion broke out. The evil tidings seem to have led him to return to Judea; for his presence at the seat of war is not only presupposed in the rabbinical legends,[101] but is also made probable by some particulars derived from inscriptions.[102] There is no reference to

Rufus. In the Jerusalem Talmud the older editions (*e.g.* that of Cracow) have in several places, *Berachoth* ix. fol. 14b from below, *Sota* v. fol. 20c from below, מונוסטרופוס, Tunustrufus, where the *t* between the *s* and *r* seems to have been introduced as a modification in pronunciation, as in *Istrahel*, *Esdras*, and such like forms.

[100] Dio Cassius, lxix. 13.—That Julius Severus was recalled from Britain is shown by an inscription, *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. n. 2830, which gives his entire *cursus honorum* (see above, p. 263 f.).

[101] *Gittin* 57*a*, in Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 433 sq.

[102] Hadrian's presence at the seat of war was denied, *e.g.* by Gregorovius, *Der Kaiser Hadrian*, 3 Aufl. p. 197; but is, on the contrary, maintained without any detailed proof by Dürr, *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*, 1881, p. 65; Mommsen, *Röm. Geschichte*, v. 545; and, on the ground of the rabbinical documents, is assumed by Lebrecht, *Bether*, p. 37, and

his presence in Rome again till May of A.D. 134.[103] He would return so soon as he had been assured of a successful issue to the war, without waiting for the completion of the operations.

Dio Cassius as well as Eusebius is silent regarding the fate of Jerusalem. It certainly did not form the middle point of the conflict, as it had done in the Vespasian war. Its fortifications were quite unimportant. Even although the rebels had succeeded in driving out the Roman garrison, the recapture of the city would have been no very serious undertaking for a sufficiently strong Roman military force. But that it had been actually taken after a violent assault is plainly stated by Appian, a contemporary witness.[104] When Appian speaks of a destruction (*κατασκάπτειν*), he is undoubtedly right, inasmuch as violent seizure is not conceivable without destruction to a certain extent. But after all, as following the thoroughgoing work of Titus, the object arrived at was

others. Darmesteter, *Revue des études juives*, i. 49–53, and Schiller, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, i. 613, note, attempt to prove it from the inscriptions. Both seek support for their view from the following data: (1) One Q. Lollius was "legatus imp. Hadriani in expeditione Judaica, qua donatus est hasta pura corona aurea" (Orelli-Henzen, n. 6500 = Renier, *Inscriptions de l'Algérie*, n. 2319 = *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. viii. n. 6706). The expression "legatus imp.," without any particularizing addition, can only be understood as designating a personal adjutant, who occupied the position of an immediate attendant upon the emperor. (2) On an inscription, certainly in a very fragmentary condition, but undoubtedly belonging to the later period of Hadrian's reign, very probably to A.D. 134 or 135, it is said that he "(lab)oribus max(imis rempublicam ab ho)ste liberaverit" (Orelli-Henzen, n. 5457 = *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. vi. n. 974). Since the only event occurring in this later period is the Jewish war, the inscription would seem to refer to Hadrian's active participation in it. See Henzen's remarks. According to Schiller, Hadrian's presence at the seat of war is made certain from the fact that to Julius Severus were awarded only "ornamenta triumphalia," not "supplicationes" (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. n. 2830), "he was not therefore commander-in-chief."

[103] *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* n. 5906. Dürr, *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*, p. 33.

[104] Appian, *Syr.* 50: *τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν Ἱεροσόλυμα—, ἣν δὴ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ πρῶτος Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς καθῃρήκει, καὶ Οὐεσπασιανὸς αὖθις οἰκισθεῖσαν κατέσκαψε, καὶ Ἀδριανὸς αὖθις ἐπ' ἐμοῦ.*

comparatively limited. And, on the other hand, the Romans, after once they had made themselves masters of the city, would not go further in the work of destruction. This was necessary in view of their purposed new building of Aelia. A siege of the city is assumed by Eusebius in his *Demonstratio evangelica.*[105] Many Church Fathers (Chrysostom, Jerome, and others) maintain that Hadrian completely destroyed the remnants of the old city which were still left standing after the destruction by Titus. By this they really only mean that Hadrian made an utter end of the old Jewish city, and erected a new heathen city in its place.[106] In the Mishna it is related that Jerusalem was run over on the 9th Ab by the

[105] Eusebius, *Demonstratio evangel.* vi. 18. 10, ed. Gaisford: the prophecy of Zech. xiv. 2, ἐξελεύσεται τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς πόλεως ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ, was fulfilled in the time of Vespasian; the other half of the city, *i.e.* of the inhabitants, was besieged in Hadrian's time and driven out, τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς πόλεως μέρος ἥμισυ πολιορκηθὲν αὖθις ἐξελαύνεται, ὡς ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ εἰς δεῦρο πάμπαν ἄβατον αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι τὸν τόπον. Eusebius therefore does not speak of the destruction of the city, but only of the driving forth of the Jewish population after a siege had been conducted against the city.

[106] Chrysostom, *Adv. Judaeos*, v. 11: τὰ λείψανα ἀφανίσας πάντα.—(Cedren. ed. Bekker, i. 437: καὶ τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ λείψανα τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ κατερειπώσας κτίζει νέαν Ἱερουσαλήμ.—Nicephorus, *Callist. Eccl. hist.* iii. 24: ὅσα γε μὴν τῇ πόλει περιελείφθη τῆς ἐκ πάλαι οἰκοδομῆς λείψανα ἐρειπῶσαι καὶ παντάπασιν ἀφανίσαι.—Hieronymus, *Comm. in Jes.* i. 5 (*Opp.* ed. Vallarsi, iv. 15): "post Titum et Vespasianum et ultimam eversionem Jerusalem sub Aelio Hadriano usque ad praesens tempus nullum remedium est." *Idem*, in Jer. xxxi. 15 (Vallarsi, iv. 1065): "sub Hadriano, quando et urbs Jerusalem subversa est." *Idem*, in Ezek. c. 5 (Vallarsi, v. 49): "post quinquaginta annos sub Aelio Hadriano usque ad solum incensa civitas atque deleta est ita ut pristinum quoque nomen amiserit." *Idem*, in Ezek. c. 24 (Vallarsi, v. 277): "post quinquaginta annos sub Hadriano civitas aeterno igne consumta est." *Idem*, in Dan. c. 9 *fin.* (Vallarsi, v. 696). *Idem*, in Joel. i. 4 (Vallarsi, vi. 171): "Aelii quoque Hadriani contra Judaeos expeditionem legimus, qui ita Jerusalem murosque subvertit, ut de urbis reliquiis ac favillis sui nominis Aeliam conderet civitatem." *Idem*, in Hab. ii. 14 (Vallarsi, vi. 622): "usque ad extremas ruinas Hadriani eos perduxit obsidio." *Idem*, in Zech. viii. 19 (Vallarsi, vi. 852). *Idem*, in Zech. xi. 4, 5 (Vallarsi, vi. 885).—Passages from other writers on Church history are given in Münter, pp. 69–71.

plough. By this, as the context shows, the time of Hadrian is meant. In the Babylonian Talmud and by Jerome this deed is ascribed to Rufus; only they both speak, not of a ploughing of the city, but of the site of the temple.[107] The short statement in the Mishna is specially deserving of notice. What this ceremony would signify, however, would be, not the destruction, but the new founding; and the incident must therefore be placed before the outbreak of the revolt.[108] The story of the conquest of Jerusalem by Hadrian as told in the Samaritan chronicle is wholly fabulous.[109]

[107] Mishna, *Taanith* iv. 6, enumerates five unfortunate events as happening on 17th Thammuz, and five unfortunate events as happening on 9th Ab. In reference to the latter it is said: "On 9th Ab sentence was pronounced upon our forefathers that they should enter into the country, and the temple was on the first occasion and on the second occasion destroyed, and Beth-ther was conquered and Jerusalem levelled down with the plough" (נחרשה העיר). The Babylonian Talmud, *bab. Taanith* 29*a* (Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 422), relates more particularly that it was the "turannus Rufus" (טורנס רופוס) who caused the plough to pass over the site of the temple (it is there called ההיכל, not העיר).—The whole passage is to be found quoted almost literally in Jerome, who expressly refers for authority to the Jewish tradition ("cogimur igitur ad Habraeos recurrere"), ad Zechar. viii. 19, *Opp.* ed. Vallarsi, vi. 852: "In quinto mense, qui apud Latinos appellatur Augustus, quum propter exploratores terrae sanctae seditio orta esset in populo, jussi sunt montem non ascendere, sed per quadraginta annos longis ad terram sanctam circuire dispendiis, ut exceptis duobus, Caleb et Josue, omnes in solitudine caderent. In hoc mense et a Nabuchodonosor et multa post saecula a Tito et Vespasiano templum Jerosolymis incensum est atque destructum; capta urbs Bethel [l. Bether], ad quam multa millia confugerant Judaeorum; aratum templum in ignominiam gentis oppressae a T. Annio [l. Tinnio] Rufo."

[108] That the plough should have been driven over Jerusalem as a sign of devastation and utter ruin is not probable, since, indeed, the building of a new city was contemplated. But this act may indeed have been performed at the beginning of the founding of the new city as a ceremony of initiation. The ceremonial act would be in either case the same; see Servius on Virgil. *Aeneid*, iv. 212: "cum conderetur nova civitas, aratrum adhibitum, ut eodem ritu quo condita subvertatur." An exact description of the ceremony is given in a passage from Varro quoted by Servius on Virgil. *Aeneid*, v. 755.

[109] *Chronicon Samaritanum, Arabice conscriptum, cui titulus est Liber*

The last hiding-place of Bar-Cochba and his followers was the strong mountain fastness of Beth-ther,[110] according to Eusebius not very far from Jerusalem, probably on the site of the modern Bettir, three hours south-west of Jerusalem.[111]

Josuae, ed. Juynboll (Lugd. Bat. 1848), p. 47.—The hopes which Münter entertained from the publication of this chronicle have not been realized.

[110] The name of the city is given by Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 6, as Βίθθηρ (accus. Βίθθηρα), or according to some manuscripts, Βέθθηρ, Βηθθηρ; in Rufinus, *Bethar*. In the Jerusalem Talmud, *Taanith* iv. fol. 68[d]–69[a], where the name occurs frequently, it is almost constantly ביתחר, only very rarely ביתר. In the Mishna, *Taanith* iv. 6, the Cambridge and Hamburg manuscripts have ביתחר; the *editio princeps* and *cod. de Rossi*, 138, ביתר; a Berlin manuscript, בתר. The correct form is undoubtedly ביתחר, Beth-ther.—On the ground of the common printed text of the Mishna it is generally assumed that our Beth-ther is also referred to in *Challa* iv. 10. But, according to the context, the place there intended lies beyond the borders of the land of Israel, and the correct reading there is בייתור, Bê-jittur. — In other passages also, where it has been thought that our place was referred to, this is found to be extremely questionable. Thus in Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 8. 1, where a village, Βήταρις, is mentioned as "in the midst of Idumea." We may also compare Βαιθήρ, which, according to some manuscripts of the Septuagint text of Josh. xv. 59, is named among the cities of Judah in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem (*cod. Vaticanus* has Θεθήρ, but *Alexandrinus*, Βαιθήρ; so also read Jerome, *Comm. in Micham*, v. 2, *Opp.* ed. Vallarsi, vi. 490). Also Βαιθθήρ, which the text of the *cod. Alex.* 1 Chron. vi. 59 (vi. 44), names besides Beth-shemesh. In the passage in the Song of Songs ii. 17, בֶּתֶר is not *Nomen proprium* but *appellativum*. On Bethar, south of Caesarea, see the next note.

[111] In determining the site many have allowed themselves to be led astray by adopting a wrong point of view. In the *Itinerarium Antonini*, and by the Pilgrim of Bordeaux, a Bethar is spoken about south of Caesarea on the road to Lydda; and the rabbinical legends tell how that the blood of those slain in Beth-ther rolled away with it great masses of rock until it flowed into the sea (*jer. Taanith* iv. fol. 69[a] from above, text in Lebrecht, *Bether*, p. 45; French in Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 434; German in Wünsche, *Der jerusalemische Talmud*, 1880, p. 159). On the basis of these statements many have assumed that it lay in the neighbourhood of the coast, and was identical with that Bethar. But whoever will follow the rabbinical legend must follow it out fully. Now it expressly states that the blood flowed from Beth-ther into the sea, although Beth-ther was forty *mil. pass.* from the coast. See Derenbourg's and Wünsche's translations of the *jer. Taanith* iv. fol. 69[a]. Only by later writers, who found the statement too absurd, has the distance been reduced to four or

After a long and stubborn defence this stronghold was also conquered in the eighteenth year of Hadrian = A.D. 134–135,[112] according to rabbinical calculation on the 9th Ab.[113] In the

one *mil. pass.* (see Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 434, note 4). That Bethar of the *Itineraries* cannot therefore be identified with our Beth-ther, because it lay in a predominantly heathen district, and on the plain, and was therefore certainly not an important military post in the Jewish war. The only certain point of view for determining the site is that offered by the statement of Eusebius, that it was not far from Jerusalem (*Hist. eccl.* iv. 6: τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων οὐ σφόδρα πόρρω διεστῶσα). It is accordingly scarcely to be doubted that it is identical with the modern Bettir, some three hours south-west of Jerusalem. A steep ridge, which only in the south joins the mountain range, there breaks into the valley. The place is therefore admirably fitted for a stronghold, and indeed traces of an early fortress are still to be found there. Finally, from this to the sea the distance is just about forty *mil. pass.*, as mentioned in the Jerusalem Talmud; as the crow flies, thirty-one. The identity of this locality with Beth-ther has therefore been rightly accepted by: Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvi. 428 f.; Williams, *The Holy City*, i. 209–213; Tobler, *Dritte Wanderung nach Palästina* (1859), pp. 101–105; Guérin, *Judée*, ii. 387–395; Sepp, *Jerusalem*, 2 Aufl. i. 647–650; Renan, *Les évangiles*, 1877, pp. 26–29; *L'église chrétienne*, 1879, p. 202 sq.; Derenbourg, *Mélanges publiés par l'école des hautes études*, 1878, pp. 160–165; *The Survey of Western Palestine*, Memoirs by Conder and Kitchener, iii. 20, and with it Sheet xvii. of the large English Map.—The identity with Bethar south of Caesarea is maintained by: Cassel in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopaedie*, sec. ii. Bd. 27, p. 14; Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iv. 156; Ewald, *History of Israel*, viii. 290; *Göttingen gel. Anzeiger*, 1868, p. 2030 ff.; Gregorovius, *Hadrian*, pp. 191, 202 f. — Yet otherwise: Herzfeld in Frankel's *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1856, pp. 105–107 (= Betaris in Idumea); Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, iii. 270 (identifies it with Bethel); Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, pp. 103–114 (= Beth-shemesh, but as he identifies this with the modern Bettir he is so far correct); Lebrecht, *Bether, die fragliche Stadt im hadrianisch-jüdischen Kriege*, 1877 (Bether = *vetera !!*, by which title the old castle of Sepphoris is said to have been designated!!!); Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, article "Bethar" (in general correct but indefinite: "on the mountains of Judea").—Material on Beth-ther is also to be found in Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chaldaicum*, *s.v.* בתר; Lightfoot, *Centuria Matthaeo praemissa*, c. 52 (*Opp.* ii. 208 sq.).

[112] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 6.

[113] Mishna, *Taanith* iv. 6, and Jerome, *Comm. in Zech.* viii. 19, *Opp.* ed. Vallarsi, vi. 852 (see the passage quoted in note 107).—If we could give any credence still to this tradition it might be understood of Ab of the

sack of the city they found Bar-Cochba, "the originator of all the mad fanaticism which had called down the punishment."[114] We have absolutely no information about the siege and conquest. The rabbinical legends tell all manner of stories about this struggle; but these productions of the wildest fancy do not deserve even once to be mentioned. This one point alone may perhaps deserve to be repeated, that before the fall of the city R. Eleasar, the uncle of Bar-Cochba, is said to have been slain by his nephew because he falsely suspected him of having come to an understanding with the Romans.[115]

With the fall of Beth-ther the war was brought to a close, after having continued for somewhere about three years and a half, A.D. 132–135.[116] During the course of it also many

year 135; for the war was probably carried on into that year. The years of Hadrian's reign run from 11th August to 11th August (Spartian, *Hadrian.* c. 4). The 9th Ab would correspond to the end of July.

[114] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 6.

[115] The legends about the fall of Beth-ther are found principally in *jer. Taanith* iv. fol. 68^{d}–69^{a} (German in Wünsche, *Der jerusalemische Talmud*, 1880, pp. 157–160), and Midrash, *Echa rabbathi* c. ii. (German in Wünsche, *Der Midrasch Echa rabbathi* 1881, pp. 100–102). The texts are collected by Lebrecht, *Bether*, p. 44 ff. On their relation to one another, see Lebrecht, p. 20 f.—The story of the death of Eleasar is given also in Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 433 sq.—In the description of the fearful massacre which the Romans perpetrated, the rabbinical legends use the same hyperbole which the author of the Book of Revelation also employs: that the blood reached up on the horses as far as the nostrils (Apoc. xiv. 20: up to the horses' bridles, ἄχοι τῶν χαλινῶν τῶν ἵππων). Even Lightfoot and Wetstein have called attention, in their notes on Rev. xiv. 20, to the parallel between that passage and *jer. Taanith* 69^{a} and Midrash, *Echa rabbathi*, c. ii.

[116] That "the government of Barcosiba" lasted three and a half years is stated in *Seder Olam* (in Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 413: כוזיבא בן כוזבה מלכות שלש שנים ומחצה; the reading three and a half is certainly the correct one; see Salzer, *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, iv. 1877, pp. 141–144). Jerome also mentions it as the opinion of some *Hebraei* that the last week year of Daniel (Dan. ix. 27) covers the period of Vespasian and of Hadrian (*Comm. in Daniel* 9 *fin.* = *Opp.* ed. Vallarsi, v. 696: "tres autem anni et sex menses sub Hadriano supputantur, quando Jerusalem omnino subversa est et Judaeorum gens catervatim caesa"). In the Jerusalem Talmud the three and a half years are mentioned

Rabbis died a martyr's death. The later legends have glorified by poetic amplification and exaggeration especially the death of ten such martyrs, among them that of R. Akiba.[117]

as the period of the siege of Beth-ther (*jer. Taanith* iv. fol. 68[d] in Lebrecht, *Bether*, p. 44; Wünsche, p. 158); in the Midrash, *Echa rabbathi*, three and a half years are assigned to Vespasian's siege of Jerusalem and three and a half years to Hadrian's siege of Beth-ther (Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 431).—Although these witnesses do not carry any great weight, they are correct in saying that the war lasted about three and a half years. Later documents confound the continuance of the siege of Beth-ther with the continuance of the war. That the beginning is to be placed in A.D. 132 has been shown above in p. 297. The end is to be placed, according to Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 6, in the eighteenth year of Hadrian = A.D. 134–135, and, indeed, in 135 rather than 134. For on inscriptions of the year 134 Hadrian does not yet bear the title (*Imp*)*erator II.*, which was given him in consequence of the Jewish war. The war was therefore then not yet ended (comp. note 118).—It is singularly perverse on the part of Jewish scholars like Cassel (Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopaedie*, art. "Juden," p. 14 f.), Herzfeld (*Monatsschrift*, 1856, pp. 107–111), and Bodek (*M. Aurelius Antoninus*, 1868, pp. 50–54), in opposition to all certain data, to set the fall of Beth-ther some ten years earlier; Cassel and Herzfeld in A.D. 122, and Bodek in A.D. 125. In this they follow the Jerusalem Talmud, which places the conquest of Beth-ther fifty-two years after the destruction of Jerusalem (*jer. Taanith* iv. fol. 69[a]: ר' יוסי אומר חמשים ושתים שנה עשת ביתתר לאחר חרבן בית המקדש; on עשת = "to spend, continue in existence," as in Eccles. vi. 12, see Salzer, *Magazin*, iii. 175 f.). This statement has arisen out of a confusion between the war of Hadrian and that of Vespasian (see above, note 56). The error here is improved in the course of being repeated by Jerome in *epist. ad Dardanum*, c. 7 (Vallarsi, i. 974): "deinde civitatis usque ad Hadrianum principem per quinquaginta annos mansere reliquiae." *Idem, Comm. in Jes.* c. 6 *s. fin.* (Vallarsi, iv. 100): "quando post annos ferme quinquaginta Hadrianus venerit et terram Judaeam penitus fuerit depraedatus." *Idem, Comm. in Ezech.* c. 5 (Vallarsi, v. 49). *Idem, Comm. in Ezech.* c. 24 (Vallarsi, v. 277); the last two passages are quoted above in note 106.—The authority also of the *Chronicon Paschale*, which places the war of Hadrian in the year 119 (ed. Dindorf, i. 474), is not of such a kind that its statement can override all other witnesses.—Essentially correct is the statement of the *Seder Olam*, that the war of Bencosiba occurred sixteen years after the war of Quietus. On the correct reading see Salzer, *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, iv. 141–144.

[117] According to the *bab. Berachoth* 61[b], R. Akiba was put to a martyr's death by torture, his flesh being torn from his body with iron combs. But during his sufferings he prayed the *Shema*, and while he, proceeding

In honour of the victory Hadrian was greeted for the second time as *Imperator*.[118] Julius Severus received the *ornamenta triumphalia;* to officers and men were given the

with the repetition of it, lingered long over the word Echad (Deut. vi. 4), he breathed out his spirit. Then there sounded forth a *Bath Kol*, a voice from heaven, saying: "Blessed art thou, R. Akiba, that thy soul departed with 'Echad.'"—Elsewhere also in the older Midrash literature, and in the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmud, casual reference is made to the martyr death of this and that rabbi. The gathering together of ten martyrs, on the other hand, makes its appearance first in the Midrashim of the post-Talmudic period. Jellinek, *Midrasch Ele Eskera*, edited for the first time, according to a manuscript of the Hamburg City Library, with dissertations, 1853, and in *Bet ha-Midrasch*, Bd. ii. 64–72 and vi. 19–35, gives some texts. Compare further: Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, p. 142; Grätz in the *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1851–1852, pp. 307–322; *Geschichte der Juden*, iv. 175 ff.; Möbius, *Midrasch Ele Eskera, die Sage von den zehn Märtyrern, metrisch übersetzt*, 1854; Derenbourg, *Histoire*, p. 436; Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopaedie für Bibel und Talmud, Supplementalband*, i. (1886) pp. 155–158, art. "Zehn Märtyrer" (this last the relatively best statement). — Bibliographical hints are also given in Steinschneider, *Catalog. librorum hebr. in Biblioth. Bodl.* col. 585, n. 3730–3733.

[118] In this designation of Hadrian the title *Imp(erator) II.* is wanting in two military diplomas which are dated 2nd April and 15th September A.D. 134 (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. pp. 877 and 878, *Dipl.* xxxiv. and xxxv.; the latter also, *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. x. n. 7855). Also, it is wanting on other inscriptions of A.D. 134 (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. vi. n. 973, *Inscr. Regni Neapol.* n. 5771 = *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. ix. n. 4359). Particularly decisive is the witness of the military diplomas, which in the designatory clauses are usually most precise.—Even from A.D. 135 (*Hadr. trib. pot.* xix.) up to a very recent period the title had not been proved. But perhaps certain inscription-fragments, on which the number xix. and the letters *teru* are found, should be expanded into *Hadr. trib. pot.* xix. *imp. iterum* (so Hübner, *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. ii. n. 478).—The title *Imp. II.* is certainly demonstrable for A.D. 136 (*Hadr. trib. pot.* xx.); see Orelli, *Inscr. Lat.* n. 813 and 2286 = *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. vi. n. 975 and 976; also on an inscription which bears this date (*Hadr. trib. pot.* xx.), but belongs probably to the very beginning of that year, namely, December A.D. 135, *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. xiv. n. 3577 = 4235 (the tribunicial year began then in December). — Hadrian therefore received the title *Imp. II.* in A.D. 135, undoubtedly in consequence of the successful ending of the Jewish war. Compare Darmesteter, *Revue des études juives*, i. 53; Schiller, *Geschichte der röm. Kaiserzeit*, i. 614, note 4.

customary rewards.[119] The victory was won indeed at a very heavy cost. So great were the losses that Hadrian in his letter to the Senate omitted the usual introductory formula, that "he and the army were well."[120] Still more grievous than this direct loss of men was the desolation of the fruitful and populous province. "All Judea was well-nigh a desert." Fifty fortresses, 985 villages were destroyed, 580,000 Jews (?) fell in battle, while the number of those who succumbed to their wounds and to famine was never reckoned.[121] Innumerable was the multitude of those who were sold away as slaves. At the annual market at the Terebinth of Hebron they were offered for sale in such numbers that a Jewish slave was of no more value than a horse. What could not be disposed of there was brought to Gaza and there sold or sent to Egypt, on the way to which many died of hunger or by shipwreck.[122]

[119] On Julius Severus, see *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. n. 2830: "Huic senatus auctore imperatore Trajano Hadriano Augusto ornamenta triumphalia decrevit ob res in Judea prospere gestas." Julius Severus was probably the last upon whom this honour was bestowed. See Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, i. 378.—On the rewards of officers and men, see above, notes 96 and 102.—The coin with the inscription *exercitus Judaicus* is not as, *e.g.*, Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iv. 164, supposes, a memorial coin, by which it was intended to recognise the services rendered by the army in the war. For there are many similar coins in provinces in which during the time of Hadrian no war had been carried on (Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* vi. 486 sqq.; Cohen, *Médailles impériales*, ed. 2, t. ii. 1882, p. 153 sqq.). Besides, its very existence is questionable. It is given by Eckhel after older authorities, but is now no longer demonstrable (Renan, *L'église chrétienne*, p. 209, note). Cohen therefore has not reckoned it.

[120] Dio Cassius, lxix. 14. Comp. Fronto, *De bello Parthico, s. init.* (ed. Mai, 1823, p. 200 = *Frontonis epistulae*, ed. Naber, 1867, p. 217 sq.): "Quid? avo vestro Hadriano imperium optinente quantum militum a Judaeis, quantum ab Britannis caesum?"

[121] Dio Cassius, lxix. 14.

[122] Jerome, *ad Zechar.* xi. 5 (Vallarsi, vi. 885); *ad Jerem.* xxxi. 15 (Vallarsi, iv. 1065); *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf, i. 474. See the passage in Münter, pp. 85 f., 113. On the terebinth at Hebron: Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 9. 7.

With respect to the capital Jerusalem, that was now proceeded with which had been projected before the war: it was converted into a Roman colony with the name Aelia Capitolina.[123] In order to make permanent the purely heathen character of the city, the Jews still residing there were driven out, and heathen colonists settled in their stead.[124] No Jew was allowed thereafter to enter the territory of the city; if any one should be discovered there he was put to death.[125] The official name of the newly-founded city is given on the coins as *Col(onia) Ael(ia) Cap(itolina)*; writers designate it in their works, as a rule,

[123] Compare on the founding of Aelia generally: Deyling, "Aeliae Capitolinae origines et historia" (*Observationes sacrae P. V.*, Lips. 1748, pp. 433–490); Münter, *Der jüdische Krieg*, p. 87 ff.; Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, ii. 27; Kuhn, *Die städtische und bürgerliche Verfassung des röm. Reichs*, ii. 357 ff.; Renan, *L'église chrétienne*, pp. 21–30, 223–226; Gregorovius, "Die Gründung der römischen Colonie Aelia Capitolina" (*Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philol. und hist. Classe der Münchener Akademie*, 1883, pp. 477–508); *Der Kaiser Hadrian*, 3 Aufl. 1884 pp. 209–216.

[124] Dio Cassius, lxix. 12; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 6; *Demonstratio evangelica*, vi. 18. 10, ed. Gaisford. The latter passage is quoted above in note 105. Malalas, ed. Dindorf, p. 279.

[125] Justin, *Apologia*, i. 47: ὅτι δὲ φυλάσσεται ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὅπως μηδεὶς ἐν αὐτῇ γένηται, καὶ θάνατος κατὰ τοῦ καταλαμβανομένου Ἰουδαίου εἱσιόντος ὥρισται, ἀκριβῶς ἐπίστασθε. *Dialog. c. Trypho*, c. 16; 92. Aristo of Pella in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 6: ὡς ἂν μηδ' ἐξ ἀπόπτου θεωροῖεν τὸ πατρῷον ἔδαφος (comp. on Aristo, vol. i. pp. 69–72). Tertullian, *Adv. Judaeos*, c. 13 *init.*: "de longinquo eam oculis tantum videre permissum est," seems to be a conscious modification of the words of Aristo for the purpose of harmonizing them with Isa. xxxiii. 17. See Grabe, *Spicilegium patr.* ii. 131 sq.: Routh, *Reliquiae sacrae*, i. 104 sq.: "saltim vestigio salutare conceditur;" Eusebius, *Demonstratio evangel.* vi. 18. 10, ed. Gaisford; Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 168, *ad. ann. Abr.* 2151; according to the Armenian: "ex hoc inde tempore etiam ascendere Hierosolymam omnino prohibiti sunt primum Dei voluntate, deinde Romanorum mandato;" Jerome, *Comm. in Is.* vi. 11 sqq., ed. Vallarsi, iv. 100; *in Jerem.* xviii. 15, ed. Vallarsi, iv. 971: "nullus Judaeorum terram quondam et urbem sanctam ingredi lege permittitur;" *in Dan.* ix. *fin.*, ed. Vallarsi, v. 696: "ut Judaeae quoque finibus pellerentur." Other passages are given by Renan, *L'église chrétienne*, p. 221, note 1.

only Aelia.[126] Its constitution was that of a Roman colony, but it had not the *jus Italicum*.[127] It may readily be supposed that it did not want beautiful and useful buildings. The *Chronicon Paschale* mentions: *τὰ δύο δημόσια καὶ τὸ θέατρον καὶ τὸ τρικάμαρον καὶ τὸ τετράνυμφον καὶ τὸ δωδεκάπυλον τὸ πρὶν ὀνομαζόμενον ἀναβαθμοὶ καὶ τὴν κόδραν*.[128] At the south gate of the city toward Bethlehem the figure of a swine is said to have been engraved.[129] The

[126] Dio Cassius, lxix. 12; Ulpian, *Digest.* l. 15. 1. 6, and *Tabula Peuting.* (*Helya Capitolina*) gives the name in full, Aelia Capitolina. In Ptolemy, v. 16. 8 and viii. 20. 18, the common printed text has in both cases Αἰλία Καπιτωλιάς.—It was called Aelia after the family name of Hadrian: Capitolina after the Capitoline Jupiter.—The coins are given in Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 441–443; Mionnet, *Description de Médailles antiques*, v. 516–522, *Supplem.* viii. 360, 363; De Saulcy, *Recherches sur la Numismatique judaïqué*, pp. 171–187; Cavedoni, *Biblische Numismatik*, ii. 68–73; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 211–231; Reichardt in the *Wiener Numismat. Zeitschrift*, Jahrg. i. 1869, pp. 79–88; Kenner, *Die Münzsammlung des Stiftes St. Florian in Ober-Oesterreich*, 1871; De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, 1874, pp. 83–109; Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1876, pp. 55–68; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881, pp. 247–275, where the material is given most fully.

[127] Ulpian, *Digest.* l. 15. 1. 6: "In Palestina duae fuerunt coloniae, Caesariensis et Aelia Capitolina, sed neutra jus Italicum habet."—Paulus, *Digest.* l. 15. 8. 7: *similes his* (namely, like the Caesariens who had not the full *jus Italicum*) *Capitulenses esse videntur.*—A memorial inscription which the courts of the colony set up in honour of Antoninus Pius is given by De Saulcy, *Voyage atour de la mer morte*, ii. 204, with atlas, pl. xxiv. n. 6=Le Bas and Waddington, *Inscriptions*, iii. 2, n. 1895=*Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. n. 116: "Tito Ael(io) Hadriano Antonino Aug. Pio P. P. pontif(ici) Augur(i) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum). Compare also Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. 2 Aufl. 1881, p. 428. The coins of the colony extend down to Valerian (A.D. 253–260).—According to the *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf, i. 474, the city was divided into seven districts: *καὶ ἐμέρισεν τὴν πόλιν εἰς ἑπτὰ ἀμφοδα καὶ ἔστησεν ἀνθρώπους ἰδίους ἀμφοδάρχας καὶ ἑκάστῳ ἀμφοδάρχῃ ἀπένειμεν ἀμφοδον.*

[128] *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf, i. 474.

[129] Jerome, *Chronicon*, *ad. ann. Abr.* 2152 (Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 169): "Aelia ab Aelio Hadriano condita, et in fronte ejus portae qua Bethleem egredimur sus scalptus in marmore significans Romanae potestati subjacere Judaeos."—The figure of the swine was found also upon a coin of the *leg. X. Fratensis* discovered in Jerusalem, which De Saulcy has published (*Revue archéologique*, nouv. série, t. xx. 1869, pp.

chief religious worship in the city was that of the Capitoline Jupiter, to whom a temple was erected on the site of the former Jewish temple.[130] It would also seem that in it there was the statue of Hadrian of which Christian writers speak.[131] On the coins, as deities of the city, besides Jupiter are mentioned: Bacchus, Serapis, Astarte, the Dioscuri. A sanctuary of Aphrodite (Astarte) stood on the place where, according to the Christian tradition, the sepulchre of Christ had been;[132] or, according to another version, a sanctuary of Jupiter on the site of the sepulchre, and a sanctuary of Venus on the site of the cross of Christ.[133]

251–260, and De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, p. 83 sq., pl. v. n. 3). Compare generally on figures of animals on the coins of the legions: Domaszewski, *Die Fahnen im römischen Heere*, 1885, pp. 54–56.

[130] Dio Cassius, lxix. 12.—The figure of Jupiter often occurs on the coins of Aelia.

[131] Jerome, *Comm. in Jes.* ii. 9 (Vallarsi, iv. 37): "ubi quondam erat templum et religio dei, ibi Hadriana statua et Jovis idolum collocatum est."—*Idem*, *Comm. in Matt.* xxiv. 15 (Vallarsi, vii. 194): "potest autem simpliciter aut de Antichristo accipi aut de imagine Caesaris, quam Pilatus posuit in templo, aut de Hadriana equestri statua quae in ipso sancto sanctorum loco usque in praesentem diem stetit."—Since, according to this, the statue of Hadrian stood on the site of the Jewish temple, where, according to Dio Cassius, the temple to Jupiter was erected, and since it is mentioned by Jerome in the former passage along with the figure of Jupiter, it must have stood in the temple of Jupiter. Compare also, Chrysostom, *Orat. adv. Judaeos*, v. 11; Cedrenus, ed. Bekker, i. 438 (στήσας τὸ ἑαυτοῦ εἴδωλον ἐν τῷ ναῷ); Nicephorus Callistus, *Eccl. Hist.* iii. 24.—The Pilgrim of Bordeaux speaks of two statues of Hadrian (*Palaestinae descriptiones*, ed. Tobler, p. 4: "sunt ibi et statuae duae Hadriani").

[132] Eusebius, *vita Constantini*, iii. 26. Constantine, it is well known, caused a church to be built on that site. According to the later legend, which to Eusebius was still unknown, the cross of Christ was found upon the excavation of the sepulchre in its neighbourhood (Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* i. 17; Sozomenus, *Hist. eccl.* ii. 1, and others. Compare Holder, *Inventio sanctae crucis*, 1889; Nestle, *De sancta cruce*, 1889).

[133] Jerome, *Epist.* 58 *ad Paulinum*, c. 3 (Vallarsi, i. 321): "Ab Hadriani temporibus usque ad imperium Constantini per annos circiter centum octoginta in loco resurrectionis simulacrum Jovis, in crucis rupe statua ex marmore Veneris a gentibus posita colebatur."—The difference of

The complete ethnicizing of Jerusalem was the actual accomplishment of a scheme which previously Antiochus Epiphanes had in vain attempted. In another respect also the enactments of Hadrian were similar to those of the former attempt. The prohibition of circumcision, which had been issued probably even before the war, and was directed not specially against the Jews (see above, p. 292), was now without doubt continued in force. It was only under Antoninus Pius that the Jews were again allowed to circumcise their children (see above, p. 292). The Jewish tradition, which certainly refers to this prohibition, affirms that even the observance of the Sabbath and the study of the law had been forbidden.[134] Whether this statement be reliable or not, the prohibition of circumcision was, according to Jewish notions, equivalent to a prohibition of the Jewish religion generally. So long as this prohibition was maintained and acted on, there was no use speaking of a pacification of the Jewish people. In fact we hear again, even in the time of Antoninus Pius, of an attempted rebellion which had to be put down by strong measures.[135] To the Roman authorities there was here only the choice: either to tolerate the religious ceremonies, or to completely exterminate the people. We may indeed assume that the knowledge which the emperor Antoninus had of this alternative, led him to allow again and grant toleration to the practice of circumcision.

statement between Jerome and Eusebius has its origin evidently in the legend of the finding of the cross. Socrates and Sozomen still speak, like Eusebius, only of a sanctuary of Aphrodite. On account of the story of the finding of the cross, however, they assumed that this was the site of the sepulchre as well as of the crucifixion. Jerome, on the other hand, endows each of the two holy places with an idol of its own.

[134] Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, p. 430; Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopaedie für Bibel und Talmud*, 2 Abth. pp. 328–332 (art. "Hadrianische Verfolgungsedikte").

[135] *Capitolin. Antoninus Pius*, c. 5 (in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, ed. Peter): "Judaeos rebellantes contudit per praesides ac legatos."

Under Hadrian's successor, therefore, essentially the same state of matters is seen still to exist as had existed since the time of Vespasian. He did not by any means answer the political ideals of the Jews. But in regard to religious matters they could be satisfied with him. The extinction of their political existence just led to this, that those tendencies obtained the supremacy which represented undiluted Judaism: Pharisaism and Rabbinism.

The development now proceeded forth upon those lines which became prominent in consequence of the great revolution of sentiment that followed the destruction of Jerusalem. Without a political home, grouped together into a unity only by the ideal power of the common law, the Jews continued all the more persistently to hold by and cherish this birthright in which they all shared. In this way the separation between them and the rest of the world was more and more sharply defined. While, during the period in which Hellenistic Judaism flourished, the boundaries between the Jewish and Graeco-Roman view of the world threatened to melt away, the Jews and their opponents now gave attention with all their combined strength to deepen the cleft even more and more. Jewish Hellenism, which proclaimed the common brotherhood of man, disappeared, and Pharisaic Judaism, which sharply repudiated all communion with the Gentile world, won universal acceptance. But paganism also had become more intolerant: the rush of the masses to the worship of the Jewish God had ceased, partly because of other powerful spiritual forces, pre-eminently that of Christianity, which exercised a more potent influence, but partly also because of the civil legislation which, without abrogating the guaranteed toleration of the Jewish religion, imposed legal limitations to the further encroachments of Judaism.

And thus the Jews became more and more what they properly and essentially were: strangers in the pagan world.

The restoration of a Jewish commonwealth in the Holy Land was, and continued even to be, a subject of religious hope, which they held by with unconquerable tenacity. The difference between the ideal and the actual, however, was at first, and even after centuries had passed, so marked and severe, that they could enter even their own capital only as strangers. Even in the fourth century it was permitted them only once in the year to enter the city on the 9th Ab, the day of the destruction of Jerusalem, in order that they might be able, on the site of the temple, to pour forth their lamentations. In graphic terms Jerome describes how the Jews on that day were wont to gather in mournful companies, to utter forth their grievous complaints, and by gold to purchase from the Roman watch permission to linger longer in the place of mourning:[136] "Usque ad praesentem diem perfidi coloni post interfectionem servorum et ad extremum filii dei excepto planctu prohibentur ingredi Jerusalem, et ut ruinam suae eis flere liceat civitatis pretio redimunt, ut qui quondam emerant sanguinem Christi emant lacrymas suas et ne fletus quidem eis gratuitus sit. Videas in die, quo capta est a Romanis et diruta Jerusalem, venire populum lugubrem, confluere decrepitas mulierculas et senes pannis annisque obsitos, in corporibus et in habitu suo iram Domini demonstrantes. Congregatur turba miserorum; et patibulo Domini coruscante ac radiante *ἀναστάσει* ejus, de oliveti monte quoque crucis fulgente vexillo, plangere ruinas templi sui populum miserum et tamen non esse miserabilem: adhuc fletus in genis et livida brachia et sparsi crines, et miles merceden postulat, ut illis flere plus liceat. Et dubitat aliquis, quum haec videat, de die tribulationis et angustiae, de die calamitatis et miseriae, de die tenebrarum et caliginis, de die nebulae et turbinis, de die tubae et clangoris? Habent enim et in luctu tubas, et juxta prophetiam vox sollennitatis

[136] Jerome, *ad Zephan.* i. 15 sq. (Vallarsi, vi. 692).

versa est in planctum. Ululant super cineres sanctuarii et super altare destructum et super civitates quondam munitas et super excelsos angulos templi, de quibus quondam Jacobum fratrem Domini praecipitaverunt."[137]

[137] Compare also Origen, in *Josuam homil.* xvii. 1 (ed. Lommatzsch, xi. 152 sq.): "Si ergo veniens ad Jerusalem civitatem terrenam, o Judaee, invenies eam subversam et in cineres ac favillas redactam, noli flere sicut nunc facitis tanquam pueri sensibus; noli lamentari, sed pro terrena require coelestem." — *Itinerarium Burdigalense* (*Palestinae descriptiones*, ed. Tobler, p. 4): "est non longe de statuis [Hadriani] lapis pertusus, ad quem veniunt Judaei singulis annis, et unguent eum et lamentant se cum gemitu, et vestimenta sua scindunt et sic recedunt."—Some other passages are given by Renan, *L'église chrétienne*, p. 221, note 3.

APPENDICES I.—VIII.

APPENDIX I.

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HISTORY OF CHALCIS, ITUREA, AND ABILENE.

LITERATURE.

NORIS, *Annus et epochae Syromacedonum*, iii. 9. 3, ed. Lips. pp. 316–322 (History of the City of Chalcis).

BELLEY, "Observations sur les médailles du tetrarque Zenodore" (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, first series, vol. xxviii. 1761, pp. 545–556).

MÜNTER, *De rebus Ituraeorum*, Hafniae 1824 (a comprehensive monograph).

WINER, *Biblisches Realwörterb.* articles "Abilene" (i. 7 f.) and "Iturea" (i. 622).

SCHENKEL, *Bibellexicon*, articles "Abilene" and "Iturea."

RIEHM'S *Handwörterbuch des biblischen Altertums*, articles "Abilene," "Iturea," and "Lysanias."

HERZOG, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 2 Aufl. i. 87–89 (article "Abilene" by Wieseler) and vii. 261 f. (article "Ituräa" by Rüetschi).

CLESS, art. "Ituräa" in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie der class. Alterthumswissenschaft*, iv. 337–340.

RITTER, *Erdkunde*, xvii. 1, pp. 14–16 (on the Itureans).

KUHN, *Die städtische und bürgerliche Verfassung des römischen Reichs*, ii. (1865), pp. 169–174 (on the dynasties of Chalcis, Abilene, and Iturea).

MARQUARDT, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, 2 Aufl. i. 1881, pp. 400–403 (on the dynasties of Chalcis and Abilene).

WIESELER, *Beiträge zur richtigen Würdigung der Evangelien* (1869), pp. 169–204 (Lysanias of Abilene).

DE SAULCY, "Recherches sur les monnaies des tétrarques héréditaires de la Chalcidène et de l'Abilène" (*Wiener numismatische Monatshefte von Egger*, 5 Bd. 1 Abth. (1869) pp. 1–34).

REICHARDT, *Numismat. Zeitschrift*, edited by Huber and Karabacek, ii. 1870, pp. 247–250 (Review of the treatise of De Saulcy).

RENAN, "Mémoire sur la dynastie des Lysanias d'Abilène" (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, t. xxvi. 2, 1870, pp. 49–84).

Among the sons of Ishmael there is mentioned in the Old Testament one יְטוּר (Gen. xxv. 15; 1 Chron. i. 31, v. 19). It is without doubt the same tribe that is referred to in the later history under the name *Ἰτουραῖοι* or *Ἰτυραῖοι*. The earliest mention of this people, so far as I know, is to be found in the writings of the Jewish Hellenist Eupolemus (in the middle of the second century before Christ), who mentions the Itureans among the tribes fought against by David.[1] Then we know from Josephus and his authorities, Strabo and Timagenes, that the Jewish king Aristobulus I., B.C. 105–104, fought against the Itureans and took from them a portion of their territory (*Antiq.* xiii. 11. 3). And from this time onward they are frequently mentioned. They were designated sometimes as Syrians, sometimes as Arabians.[2] The proper names of Iturean soldiers, which are mentioned on Latin inscriptions, are Syrian.[3]—At the time of the Roman conquest they were still an uncivilised robber tribe,[4] but greatly celebrated for their skill as bowmen. Even Caesar made use of Iturean bowmen in the African war.[5] The triumvir

[1] Eusebius, *Praep. evang.* ix. 30: *Στρατεῦσαι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπὶ Ἰδουμαίους καὶ Ἀμμανίτας καὶ Μωαβίτας καὶ Ἰτουραίους καὶ Ναβαταίους καὶ Ναβδαίους.*

[2] Appian, *Civ.* v. 7: *τὴν Ἰτουραίαν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα γένη Σύρων.*—Vibius Sequester, ed. Hessel, p. 155: "Ithyrei vel Itharei Syrii."—Also Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 23. 81, names the *Ituraeorum gentes* among the tribes of Syria.—Dio Cassius, lix. 12: *τὴν τῶν Ἰτουραίων τῶν Ἀράβων.* Strabo, p. 735, joins *Ἰτουραῖοί τε καὶ Ἄραβες.* So, too, at p. 756.—Epiphanius, *Haer.* xix. 1: *ἀπὸ τῆς Ναβατικῆς χώρας καὶ Ἰτουραίας.* Compare Eupolemus in Eusebius, *Praep. evang.* ix. 30.

[3] We have, *e.g.* Bargathes, Baramna, Beliabus, Bricbelus (all four on one inscription, Münter, *de rebus Ituraeorum*, p. 40 sq., more correctly in *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. n. 4371), Monimus, Jerombal (Münter, p. 42 = *Corp. Inscr. Rhenan.* ed. Brambach, n. 1234), Hanel, Jamlicus (Münter, p. 42 sq. = Brambach, n. 1233 = Wilmanns, *Exampla Inscr. Lat.* n. 1530).—Compare besides, Münter, pp. 8–10.

[4] Strabo, pp. 755, 756; Cicero, *Philipp.* ii. 112.

[5] *Bell. Africanum*, 20: "sagittariisque ex omnibus navibus Ityreis Syris et cujusque generis ductis in castra compluribus frequentabat sua scopias."

Marc Antony had some of them as his bodyguard, and with them he terrorized the Senate to the great scandal of Cicero.[6] Poets and historians speak of the Iturean bowmen down to the later days of the empire.[7]

The districts inhabited by them may not always have been the same. But during the period of which we have fullest and most accurate information about them, they are never spoken of as resident elsewhere than in Mount Lebanon. Christian theologians indeed endeavour to place it as near as possible to Trachonitis on account of Luke iii. 1. Even Eusebius has for this reason identified Trachonitis and Iturea.[8] But all historical authorities point most distinctly to Lebanon. So pre-eminently Strabo, who repeatedly designates the Itureans mountaineers and inhabitants of that particular mountain which rises upon the plain of Massyas, and says that they had Chalcis as their capital.[9] The plain of Massyas or Marsyas

[6] Cicero, *Philipp.* ii. 19: "confiteare hunc ordinem hoc ipso tempore ab Ituraeis circumsederi."—*Philipp.* ii. 112: "cur homines omnium gentium maxime barbaros Ituraeos cum sagittis deducis in forum?"—*Philipp.* xiii. 18: "haec subsellia ab Ituraeis occupabantur."

[7] Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 448: "Ituraeos taxi torquentur in arcus."—Lucan, *Pharsal.* vii. 230: "Ituraeis cursus fuit inde sagittis." *Ibid.* vii. 514: "tunc et Ituraei Medique Arabesque soluto arcu turba minax."—A military diploma of A.D. 110 (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. p. 868: "cohors I. Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum.—Arrian, *Alan.* 18: οἱ πεζοὶ τοξόται, οἱ τῶν Νομάδων καὶ Κυρηναίων καὶ Βοσπορανῶν τε καὶ Ἰτουραίων.—Vopisc. *vita Aureliani*, c. 11 (in the *Scriptores historiae Augustae*): "habes sagittarios Ityraeos trecentos."—Vibius Sequester, ed. Hessel, p. 155: "Ithyrei vel Itharei Syrii usu sagittae periti."

[8] Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 268: Ἰτουραία ἡ καὶ Τραχωνῖτις. *Ibid.* p. 298: Τραχωνῖτις χώρα ἡ καὶ Ἰτουραία.

[9] Strabo, xvi. 2. 10, p. 753: οὐ πόρρω δ' οὐδ' Ἡλιούπολις καὶ Χαλκὶς ἡ ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Μεννναίου τῷ τὸν Μασσύαν κατέχοντι καὶ τὴν Ἰτουραίων ὀρεινήν. *Ibid.* xvi. 2. 18, p. 755: μετὰ δὲ τὸν Μάκραν ἐστὶν ὁ Μασσύας ἔχων τινὰ καὶ ὀρεινά, ἐν οἷς ἡ Χαλκὶς ὥσπερ ἀκρόπολις τοῦ Μασσύου· ἀρχὴ δ' αὐτοῦ Λαοδίκεια ἡ πρὸς Λιβάνῳ. τὰ μὲν οὖν ὀρεινὰ ἔχουσι πάντα Ἰτουραῖοί τε καὶ Ἄραβες. *Ibid.* xvi. 2. 20, p. 756: ἔπειτα πρὸς τὰ Ἀράβων μέρη καὶ τῶν Ἰτουραίων ἀναμίξ ὄρη δύσβατα (in regard to this see note 16). — Christian lexicographers also explain "Iturea" by

is the plain between the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon,[10] beginning in the north at Laodicea of the Lebanon and stretching south as far as Chalcis.[11] Since the Itureans are often named together with the Arabians,[12] they are to be looked for in the mountain range that bounds the Massyas plain on the east, that is, in the Anti-Lebanon. They appear also in later accounts as inhabitants of the Lebanon. Dio Cassius (xlix. 32) plainly names the older Lysanias king of the Itureans. But he was son and successor of Ptolemy Mennäus, whose kingdom just embraced the Lebanon and the plain of Massyas with the capital Chalcis (see below, p. 329 f.). On the well-known inscription of the time of Quirinius his subordinate general Q. Aemilius Secundus says of himself: "missu Quirini adversus Ituraeos in Libano monte castellum eorum cepi."[13] During the time of the Vespasian war, Josephus in his *Life*, xi., mentions a Οὐᾶρος βασιλικοῦ γένους, ἔκγονος Σοέμου τοῦ περὶ τὸν Λίβανον τετραρχοῦντος. But this Soemus was probably the same as is designated by Dio Cassius and Tacitus the ruler of the Itureans.[14] We never find anywhere any indication that the Itureans had dwelt in any other region than in the Lebanon. The opinion of Wetzstein, that they are to be looked for on the eastern borders of the Hauran,[15] is therefore just as erroneous as the older view that the valley of Dschedur, south of Damascus, had received its

"mountain land" (*montenae*, ὀρεινή). See *Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, pp. 64, 176, 193; Apuleius, *Florida*, i. 6, styles the Itureans *frugum pauperes*, which precisely represents the condition of dwellers in mountainous regions.

[10] Polybius, v. 45. 8 f.

[11] This may be inferred from the passages quoted from Strabo. On the position of both cities, see below, notes 17 and 18.

[12] Strabo, xvi. 2. 18. p. 755. Compare also above, note 2.

[13] *Ephemeris epigraphica*, vol. iv. 1881, p. 538.—On the genuineness of the inscription, see vol. i. of present work, p. 357.

[14] Dio Cassius, lix. 12; Tacitus, *Annales*, xii. 23.

[15] Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen*, 1860, pp. 90-92

name from them. The latter theory is now found on philological grounds to be impossible.[16]

In the last decades before the arrival of Pompey, the Itureans belonged to an important confederacy, which recognised as its head Ptolemy the son of Mennäus (*Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Μενναίου*); for his kingdom, according to the first passage quoted from Strabo (xvi. 2. 10, p. 753), embraced "the mountain lands of the Itureans" and the plain of "Massyas" with the capital Chalcis.[17] The plain of Massyas

[16] It would seem that Wetzstein's view is favoured only by the third passage of Strabo (xvi. 2. 20, p. 756), where Strabo mentions the Trachones in connection with Damascus and "those inaccessible mountains in the territories of the Arabians and Itureans." The order of succession in the enumeration seems to point to the Hauran. In fact, it must be intended at least that this district should be included. But how the matter is to be understood is seen by a comparison of the words of Strabo that follow with Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 10. 1–3. Strabo proceeds to say that in these mountains there are enormous caverns, which robbers used as hiding-places. But the robber bands led by Zenodorus were now destroyed by the Romans. This undoubtedly is the same state of matters as is described by Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 10. 1–3. From this particular and detailed report we see that the proper domain of Zenodorus was the district of Panias (*Antiq.* xv. 10. 3), but that he made common cause with robbers haunting Trachonitis and Auranitis (xv. 10. 1). The territory of Zenodorus (on the southern spaces of this Lebanon) is now, as our sketch will show, a portion of the once important Iturean kingdom. When, therefore, Strabo says that this mountain range, full of caverns, lay "in the territories of the Arabians and Itureans" (*πρὸς τὰ Ἀράβων μέρη καὶ τῶν Ἰτουραίων*), he means by the *μέρη Ἰτουραίων* evidently the country of Zenodorus. It cannot therefore from his words be concluded that the Itureans themselves dwelt in the Hauran.

[17] Josephus also names Chalcis on the Lebanon as the capital of Ptolemy (*Antiq.* xiv. 7. 4: *δυναστεύων Χαλκίδος τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ Λιβάνῳ ὄρει*; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 9. 2: *ὃς ἐκράτει τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ Λιβάνῳ Χαλκίδος*). It lay on the route of Pompey's march, *Antiq.* xiv. 3. 2, south of Heliopolis. Compare also: Robinson, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, v. 90; *Later Biblical Researches*, p. 500; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvii. 1, p. 186 ff.; Furrer, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, viii. 1885, p. 35.—There is one other Chalcis not to be confounded with this one, from which the province of Chalcidice has its name. This Chalcis lay much farther north, according to the *Itinerarium Antonini* only 18 *mil. pass.* south of Beröa (*Vetera Romanorum itineraria*, ed. Wesseling, p. 193 sq.). Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 23,

runs north as far as Laodicea of Lebanon.[18] But it would seem from the other passages that Ptolemy, like Alexander Jannäus, pushed his conquests beyond this limit. His territory (for to him applies what Strabo, xvi. 2. 18, p. 755, says of the inhabitants of the Lebanon) extended westward to the sea. Botrys and Theuprosopon (*Θεοῦ πρόσωπον*) belonged to him. Byblus and Berytus were threatened by him. In the east the Damascenes suffered at his hands.[19] In the south the district of Panias, as may be inferred from the history of Zenodorus (Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 10. 1–3, compare with this passage also below, p. 333), belonged to him. Indeed in the time of the Jewish king Aristobulus I., the kingdom of the Itureans seems to have embraced even Galilee (see vol. i. of present work, pp. 293, 294). In any case the Itureans were in that direction immediate neighbours of the Jews. We have therefore before us a State constructed precisely in the same fashion as was the Jewish State of that time, only that Ptolemy, son of Mennäus, was in point of civilisation a good way in advance of Alexander Jannäus.

Ptolemy, son of Mennäus, reigned from about B.C. 85 to about B.C. 40. About B.C. 85, from fear of him, the Damascenes called in the aid of Aretas, king of the Arabians (*Antiq.* xiii. 15. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 4. 8). About B.C. 78, Aristobulus, son of Queen Alexandra, made a journey to Damascus, avowedly with the object of protecting it against Ptolemy (*Antiq.* xiii. 16. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 5. 3). When Pompey arrived,

81, calls it *Chalcidem cognominatam ad Belum*. Compare also v. 26. 89. Generally: Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvii. 2, 1592 ff.—On both cities, Noris, *Annus et epochae*, p. 316 sqq.; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. 400.

[18] Strabo, xvi. 2, 18, p. 755.—Laodicea on the Lebanon (not to be confounded with Laodicea by the sea) lay, according to the *Itinerarium Antonini* (ed. Wesseling, p. 198), 18 *mil. pass.* south of Emesa. Compare Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, iv. 763 f.; Furrer, *Zeitschrift des DPV.* viii. 31.

[19] Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 16. 3: *ὃς βαρὺς ἦν τῇ πόλει γείτων.*

Ptolemy purchased immunity from him by the payment of a thousand talents (*Antiq.* xiv. 3. 2). Pompey, however, destroyed the fortified places in the Lebanon (Strabo, xvi. 2. 18. p. 755), and undoubtedly also curtailed the territory of Ptolemy in a way similar to that in which he dealt with the Jewish territory.[20] In B.C. 49, Ptolemy took under his personal care the sons and daughters of the Jewish king Aristobulus II., who had been deposed and quite recently murdered by the party of Pompey (*Antiq.* xiv. 7. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 9. 2). In B.C. 42, when Cassius had left Syria, Ptolemy supported Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, in his endeavour to secure to himself the government of Judea (*Antiq.* xiv. 12. 1). Ptolemy died during the progress of the Parthian war, B.C. 40 (*Antiq.* xiv. 13. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 13. 1). As he is never designated "king" (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 7. 4: δυναστεύων), it is possible that the coins, which for the most part have the incomplete superscription *Πτολεμαίου τετράρχου ἀρχ(ιερέως)*, belong to him.[21]

Ptolemy was succeeded by his son Lysanias (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 13. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 13. 1), who therefore obtained the kingdom with the same extent of territory as had been left to his father by Pompey. Dio Cassius styles him "King of the Itureans" (Dio Cassius, xlix. 32). His

[20] Reference is made to the subjugation of Ptolemy in the accounts given of the subjugation of the Itureans by Pompey in Appian, *Mithridat.* 106; Eutropius, vi. 14; Orosius, vi. 6.

[21] Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 263 sq.; Mionnet, *Description de médailles*, v. 145, *Suppl.* viii. 119; Münter, *De rebus Ituraeorum*, p. 37; Lenormant, *Trésor de numismatique*, p. 116, pl. lvi. n. 14; Renan, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscr.* xxvi. 2, p. 62; De Saulcy, *Wiener numismat. Monatshefte*, v. 1, pp. 26–28; *Mélanges de Numismatique*, t. iii. 1882, p. 198 sq. (on the coins there given is to be read . . . λεμαι . . . ετραρχο αρχι).—Imhoof-Blumer, *Porträtköpfe auf antiken Münzen*, 1885, p. 44, contends that the word Χαλκιδ is to be found on the coins. All the more then, in consequence of our defective knowledge of these matters, it still remains a possibility that the coins belong to some unknown Ptolemy. Head, *Historia Numorum* (1887), p. 655.

reign falls in the time of Antony, who also laid the Itureans under a heavy tribute (Appian, *Civ.* v. 7). At the instigation of Cleopatra, Antony caused Lysanias to be executed in B.C. 36 (on the reckoning of the date, see vol. i. p. 402), on the pretence that he had been conspiring with the Parthians, and gifted a large portion of his territory to Cleopatra (Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 4. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 22. 3; Dio Cassius, xlix. 32).[22] Since Dio Cassius and Porphyry call him "king," it is doubtful whether the coins bearing the superscription *Λυσανίου τετράρχου καὶ ἀρχιερέως* belong to him, for there were one or more younger princes of this name.[23] At the same time writers were accustomed to apply the title of *βασιλεύς* in a loose way even to tetrarchs.

The further history of the country cannot be followed out in more detail. But it is certain that the once important kingdom of Ptolemy and Lysanias was gradually cut up more and more into smaller districts. We can quite definitely distinguish four different districts, all of which originally belonged to the one kingdom of Chalcis.

1. About the year 23 B.C. (with regard to the chronology, see vol. i. p. 409) Josephus tells of a certain Zenodorus who had taken on lease the possessions that previously belonged to Lysanias (*Antiq.* xv. 10. 1: *ἐμεμίσθωτο τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Λυσανίου*; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 20. 4: *ὁ τὸν Λυσανίου μεμισ-*

[22] To this also refers the statement of Porphyry in Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, i. 170: *Τὸ δ' ἐκκαιδέκατον* (*scil.* "year of Cleopatra") *ἀνομάσθη τὸ καὶ πρῶτον, ἐπειδὴ τελευτήσαντος Λυσιμάχου τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ Χαλκίδος βασιλέως Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τήν τε Χαλκίδα καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὴν τόπους παρέδωκε τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ.* Instead of *Λυσιμάχου* it is now generally admitted that we should read *Λυσανίου*.

[23] See the coins in Mionnet, *Suppl.* viii. 119 f.; Münter, *De rebus Ituraeorum*, p. 38; Lenormant, *Trésor de numismatique*, p. 116 sq. pl. lvi. n. 15, 16; Renan, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscr.* xxvi. 2, p. 62 sq.; De Saulcy, *Wiener numismat. Monatshefte*, v. 1, p. 29; Imhoof-Blumer, *Porträtköpfe*, p. 44, table vi. 18; Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 655.—In settling the question as to whether our Lysanias bore the title of Tetrarch the inscription given in note 26 has to be taken into account.

θωμένος οἶκον). This Zenodorus took part in the robberies in Trachonitis, on account of which Trachonitis was separated from the dominions under the sway of Zenodorus, and was conferred upon Herod (*Antiq.* xv. 10. 1–2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 20. 4).[24] Three years later, in B.C. 20, Zenodorus died, and then Augustus conferred upon Herod also the territories over which he had ruled, namely, Ulatha and Panias (*Antiq.* xv. 10. 3: τὴν τούτου μοῖραν οὐκ ὀλίγην οὖσαν . . . Οὐλάθαν καὶ Παναιάδα καὶ τὴν περιξ χώραν; compare *Wars of the Jews*, i. 20. 4; Dio Cassius, liv. 9: Ζηνοδώρου τινὸς τετραρχίαν).[25] A difficulty arises here inasmuch as Zenodorus is mentioned at first only as lessee or farmer of the οἶκος Λυσανίου, whereas mention is afterwards made of his own country, Dio Cassius speaking of his tetrarchy, which was obtained by Herod. The difficulty might be explained by regarding the two as different territories. But against this may be alleged the circumstance that Josephus most decidedly, at least in his first reference to him, would have designated him by his own territory, if that territory had been different from the one which he had farmed out. We are therefore constrained to regard the two as identical. That the district of Ulatha and Panias had formerly belonged to the dominion of Lysanias, *i.e.* to the Iturean kingdom, is highly probable, since the latter extended as far as the borders of the Jewish country (see above, p. 330). It seems therefore that Zenodorus, after the death of Lysanias, had received on rent a portion of his territory from Cleopatra, and that after Cleopatra's death this "rented" domain, subject to tribute, was continued to him with the title of tetrarch.

[24] Compare Strabo, xvi. 2. 20, p. 756: καταλυθέντων νυνὶ τῶν περὶ Ζηνοθωρον ληστῶν.

[25] Ulatha is the district on the Merom or Semechonitis Lake which is now called Beer-el-Huloh, and is clearly identical with the ימא דחולתא mentioned in the rabbinical literature (Neubauer, *La géographie du Talmud*, 1868, pp. 24, 27 sq.).

On a monument to the dynasty of Lysanias at Heliopolis, of the inscription on which we have indeed only fragments, mention is made of a "Zenodorus, son of the tetrarch Lysanias."[26] The reference has almost universally been supposed to apply to our Zenodorus, and he has therefore been regarded as a son of the Lysanias executed by Antony. Although this also is uncertain, because Lysanias is designated as tetrarch (see above, p. 332), yet there is proved from the inscriptions a genealogical connection between the two families, in which the same name may have been often repeated.—It may be taken as certain that the coins with the superscription *Ζηνοδώρου τετράρχου ἀρχιερέως* belong to our Zenodorus.[27] They have the year numbers *ΠΣ*, *ΒΠΣ*, *ΖΠ*[*Σ*], *i.e.* 280, 282, 287 *aera Seleuc.* or B.C. 32, 30, and 25, which precisely fit our hypothesis.[28]

After the death of Herod the Great, a portion of the former

[26] See the inscription in *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* n. 4523, in De Saulcy, *Voyage autour de la mer morte*, atlas (1853), pl. liii. n. 5; Le Bas and Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines*, t. iii. n. 1880; most correctly in Renan, *Mission de Phenicie*, pp. 317–319, and with a complete commentary in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, xxvi. 2, pp. 70–79. The legible portions run, with Renan's filling up of lacunae, as follows:—

. . . *θυγάτηρ Ζηνοδώρῳ Λυσ*[*ανίου τ*]*ετράρχου καὶ Λυσ*[*ανίᾳ*]
. . . [*καὶ τοῖ*]*ς υἱοῖς μ*[*νήμη*]*ς χάριν* [*εὐσεβῶς*] *ἀνέθηκεν.*

[27] See the coins in Belley, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscr. et Belles-Lettrés*, first series, t. xxviii. 1761, pp. 545–556; Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 496 sq.; Mionnet, *Description de médailles*, v. 576, *Suppl.* viii. 381; Münter, *De rebus Ituraeorum*, p. 38 sq.; Renan, *Mémoires de l'Académie*, xxvi. 2, p. 63; De Saulcy, *Wiener numismat. Montashefte*, v. 1 [1869], pp. 29–32; *Annuaire de la Société française de Numismatique et d'Archéologie*, t. v. (=second series, t. 1), fasc. 3, 1879, p. 182 sq. [coins with the date ΖΠ]; Madden, *Coins of the Jews* (1881), p. 124; Imhoof-Blumer, *Porträtköpfe auf antiken Münzen*, 1885, p. 44, table vi. 19; Head, *Historia Numorum* (1887), p. 663.

[28] The year number ΠΣ=280, *aera Seleuc.*, or B.C. 32, is indeed incomplete (Mionnet, v. 576: "cette date ne paroit pas entière"). It would be strange indeed if Zenodorus should have received the title of Tetrarch so long as Cleopatra continued to rule.

tetrarchy of Zenodorus went to Herod's son, Philip (*Antiq.* xvii. 11. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 6. 3).[29] This is the portion referred to by the evangelist Luke (Luke iii. 1), when he says that Philip was governor of Iturea (τῆς Ἰτουραίας).—The tetrarchy of Philip was subsequently obtained by Agrippa I. and Agrippa II.

2. Another tetrarchy was sliced off from the earlier Itu-rean empire in the East between Chalcis and Damascus to form the district of Abila in the Lebanon. This Abila, according to the *Itinerarium Antonii*[30] and the Peutinger tables, lay 18 *mil. pass.* from Damascus on the road from that city to Heliopolis, consequently on the site of the present village of Suk on the Barada, where are still to be seen the ruins of an old city. In the neighbourhood on the wall of rock is engraved an inscription, on which it is said that the Emperors Marcus Aurelius and L. Verus *viam fluminis vi abruptam interciso monte restituerunt . . . impendiis Abile-norum.*[31] In the same neighbourhood, too, they point out the so-called grave of Abel (*Nebi Abil*), evidently a legendary creation, which had its origin in the name of the place Abel. The identity of Abila and Suk, therefore, is placed beyond all doubt.[32] Much more uncertain is this identification with our

[29] In the passage, *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 6. 3, instead of Ἰάμνειαν we should read Πανειάδα, according to *Antiq.* xv. 10. 3.

[30] *Vetera Romanorum itineraria*, ed. Wesseling, p. 198.

[31] See the inscription, *e.g.* in De Saulcy, *Voyage autour de la mer morte*, atlas (1853), pl. li.; Robinson, *Later Biblical Researches*, p. 480; De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, p. 20; Le Bas and Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines*, t. iii. n. 1874; *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. n. 199; Facsimile in Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, Bd. xii. Blatt 101; *Inscr. Lat.* n. 64.—The inscription, from its refer-ence to the two emperors in its formula, belongs to A.D. 163–165. See Waddington on n. 1874, and Mommsen in the *Corpus Inscr. Lat.*

[32] See on Abila generally: Reland, *Palaestina*, p. 527 sqq.; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvii. 2, p. 1278 ff.; Porter, *Five Years in Damascus* (1855), i. 261 ff.; Robinson, *Later Biblical Researches*, pp. 479–484; Sepp, *Jeru-salem*, 2 Aufl. ii. 393 ff.; Baedeker-Socin, *Palästina*, 1 Aufl. p. 511; Ebers and Guthe, *Palästina*, i. 456–460; Furrer, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, viii. 1885, p. 40.

Abila of a city Leucas, urged by many numismatists, of which several coins are still extant. In support of this, reference is made to a coin on which, besides the words [*Λευκ*]*αδιων Κλαυ*[*διεων*], is to be read also the name of the river *Χρυσοροας*. In ancient times, certainly, the Barada was called Chrysorrhoas, and it had upon its banks, besides Damascus, no other city than Abila. But the name Chrysorrhoas is also met with elsewhere, *e.g.* on the inscription of the Gerasenes, Div. II. vol. i. p. 118; and it should be particularly observed that on the coin in question the designation of the city is restored only by means of filling up the lacunae.[33]

Our Abila was before the time of Caligula the capital of a tetrarchy which is often spoken of by Josephus. When Caligula ascended the throne in A.D. 37, Agrippa I., besides the tetrarchy of Philip, received also "the tetrarchy of Lysanias" (*Antiq.* xviii. 6. 10: *τὴν Λυσανίου τετραρχίαν*). By this is meant the tetrarchy of Abila. For when Claudius came to the throne in A.D. 41, he confirmed and increased the domain of Agrippa by handing over to him the whole empire of his grandfather Herod as his hereditary possession, and adding thereto: *Ἀβίλαν τὴν Λυσανίου καὶ ὁπόσα ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ ὄρει* (*Antiq.* xix. 5. 1; compare *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 11. 5: *βασιλείαν τὴν Λυσανίου καλουμένην*).[34] After the death of Agrippa I., in A.D. 44, his territory was administered by Roman procurators. But in A.D. 53, in the thirteenth year of Claudius, Agrippa II. obtained what had been the tetrarchy of Philip, together with Abila, the tetrarchy of Lysanias (*Antiq.* xx. 7. 1:

[33] See on the coins: Belley, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, first series, t. xxxii. 1768, pp. 695–706; Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 337 sq.; Mionnet, *Description de médailles*, v. 308–310, *Suppl.* viii. 214–216; De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, pp. 20–29.—The identification of Leucas and Abila was first suggested by Belley, and has been specially favoured by De Saulcy. Eckhel expresses himself in a hesitating manner ("quae aliud non sunt quam conjecturae probabiles").

[34] There is no word here in reference to Abila about a new donation, but only about a confirmation of the donation of Caligula.

σὺν Ἀβίλᾳ, Λυσανία δὲ αὕτη ἐγεγόνει τετραρχία. Compare *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 8: τήν τε Λυσανίου βασιλείαν).

From these passages we see that the tetrarchy of Abila had belonged previously to A.D. 37 to a certain Lysanias.[35] And seeing that Josephus nowhere previously makes any mention of another Lysanias, except the contemporary of Antony and Cleopatra, B.C. 40–36, theological criticism has endeavoured in various ways to show that there had not afterwards been any other, and that the tetrarchy of Abilene had its name from that older Lysanias. But this is impossible. Lysanias I. had possessed the Iturean kingdom with the same boundaries as his father Ptolemy. The capital of his kingdom was Chalcis (compare also especially the passage quoted from Porphyry on p. 332). The domain of Abila did indeed belong to that territory; for the empire of Ptolemy bordered on the territory of Damascus. But it certainly formed only a small portion of that important kingdom which embraced almost all of the Lebanon. It is therefore impossible that the district of Abila could have been characterized as "the tetrarchy of Lysanias." It must therefore be assumed as certain that at a later date the district of Abilene had been severed from the kingdom of Chalcis, and had been governed by a younger Lysanias as tetrarch.

The existence of a younger Lysanias is also witnessed to by the following inscription found at Abila:—[36]

Ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν κυρίων Σε[βαστῶν]
σωτηρίας καὶ τοῦ σύμ[παντος]
αὐτῶν οἴκου, Νυμφαῖος . . . .
Λυσανίου τετράρχου ἀπελε[ύθερος]
τὴν ὁδὸν κτίσας κ.τ.λ.

[35] The designation βασιλεία, in *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 11. 5 and 12. 8, is evidently inexact.

[36] *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* n. 4521 (compare *Addenda*, p. 1174 = Renan, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, t. xxvi. 2, p. 67.

Since the correctness of the filling up of the word Σε[βαστῶν] cannot be doubted, the inscription cannot be placed earlier than the time of Tiberius. For the title *Augusti* in the plural was never before given. The first contemporary Σεβαστοί were Tiberius and his mother Livia, who from the death of Augustus, in consequence of the last expressed wish of her husband, took the title of *Augusta*.[37] In the time of Tiberius, therefore, at least fifteen years after the death of Lysanias I., it is, indeed, hardly conceivable that a freedman of his would have built a street and erected a temple, as is said on the inscription. Undoubtedly Nymphäus was the freedman of the younger tetrarch Lysanias.—Also the inscription from Heliopolis, quoted on p. 334, makes it probable that there had been several princes of the name of Lysanias.—The evangelist Luke is thoroughly correct when he assumes (Luke iii. 1) that in the fifteenth year of Tiberius there was a Lysanias tetrarch of Abilene.[38]

The tetrarchy of Lysanias I. remained in possession of Agrippa II. down to his death in A.D. 100; but the name of Lysanias long clung to the place. Also in *Ptolemäus*, v.

[37] Tacitus, *Annales*, i. 8: "Livia in familiam Juliam nomenque Augustum adsumebatur." Tiberius and Livia (Julia) are named on a Palestinian coin as Σεβαστοί (Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 497); its reading, however, is doubtful (Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 180).—For further criticism see also *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* t. iii. p. 1174 (*Addenda* to n. 4521); Renan, *Mémoires*, p. 63 sq. (with reference to Renier and Waddington); Wieseler, *Beiträge zur richtigen Würdigung der Evangelien*, p. 191, understands the two Σεβαστοί to be Augustus and Tiberius, the latter having only in the last years of Augustus received the title of Σεβαστός. But this is in contradiction to everything else that we know, and, owing to the uncertain date of the coin to which Wieseler himself refers, is incapable of proof. Compare against Wieseler's hypothesis, Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, ii. 2 (1 Aufl. 1875), pp. 731–733, 772 f., 1064 ff.

[38] On the existence of this younger Lysanias, and generally on Luke iii. 1, see the *pro* and *contra* in the following treatises, in addition to the literature mentioned on p. 325: Frid. Gott. Süskind, "Symbolae ad illustr. quaedam evangeliorum loca" (in *Sylloge commentt.*, ed. Pott, vol. viii. 1807, pp. 90–99; Schneckenburger, *Ueber Luc.* iii. 1 (*Theol.*

15. 22, Abila is called Ἄβιλα ἐπικληθεῖσα Λυσανίου, as may be supposed because Lysanias was not only a previous possessor, but the new founder of the city (compare Caesarea Philippi).

3. The domains of Zenodorus and Lysanias lay on the circumference of the earlier Iturean kingdom. In the time of Quirinius, his subordinate general, Q. Aemilius Secundus, undertook a warlike expedition against the Itureans proper, as is told us on an inscription ("missu Quirini adversus Ituraeos in Libano monte castellum eorum cepi").[39] Perhaps just at that time a breaking up of the Iturean kingdom took place. At any rate, in the time of Claudius we find a kingdom of Chalcis and a kingdom of Iturea alongside of one another. In A.D. 38, Caligula deprived a certain Soemus of the government of the Itureans (Dio Cassius, lix. 12: Σοαίμῳ τὴν τῶν Ἰτυραίων τῶν Ἀράβων . . . ἐχαρίσατο).[40] This Soemus died in A.D. 49, and then his territories were incorporated with the province of Syria. Tacitus, *Annales*, xii. 23: "Ituraeique et Judaei defunctis regibus Sohaemo atque Agrippa provinciae Suriae additi." But at the same time a Herod reigned in Chalcis, so that now the one kingdom of Ptolemy

Stud. und Krit. 1833, p. 1056 ff.); Süskind (son of above-named), "Einige Bemerkungen zu den Worten u. s. w. Luc. iii. 1" (*Theol. Stud. und Krit.* 1836, pp. 431–448); Strauss, *Leben Jesu*, i. (4 Aufl. 1840) p. 341 ff.; Hug, *Gutachten über das Leben Jesu von Strauss*, 1840, pp. 119–123; Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis of the Four Gospels*, pp. 159–167; Ebrard, *Gospel History*, Edin. 1869, § 30, pp. 143–146: "Lysanias of Abilene;" Lichtenstein, *Lebensgeschichte des Herrn Jesu Christi* (1856), pp. 130–136; Winer, *Realwörterb.* art. "Abilene;" Kneucker in Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*, i. 26–28, art. "Abilene;" Sevin, *Chronologie des Lebens Jesu* (2 Aufl. 1874), pp. 106–112; Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, ii. 381–384; *Aus dem Urchristenthum* (1868), pp. 9–13; Bleek, *Synoptische Erklärung der drei ersten Evangelien*, i. 1862, pp. 154–157. See Commentaries on the New Testament by Meyer and others on Luke iii. 1.

[39] *Ephemeris epigraphica*, vol. iv. 1881, p. 538.

[40] The name Soemus is found also in the dynasty of Emesa. An Iturean Soemus of the time of Herod the Great is spoken of in *Antiq.* xv. 6. 5, 7. 1–4.

and Lysanias was partitioned into, at least, four divisions. The kingdom of Soemus is supposed to have embraced the northern part, from about Heliopolis to Laodicea in the Lebanon.[41]

When, upon the death of Soemus, his territory was confiscated, it would seem that his son Varus (or Noarus, as he is called in *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 18. 6) was portioned off with a small part of his ancestral domains, and even this he held only till A.D. 53. In that year Claudius bestowed upon Agrippa, in addition to the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias, *τὴν Οὐάρου γενομένην ἐπαρχίαν* (*Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 8; in regard to the date, *Antiq.* xx. 7. 1). This Varus was, according to Josephus, *Life*, xi., probably the son of that Soemus who died in A.D. 49 (*Οὐᾶρος βασιλικοῦ γένους, ἔκγονος Σοέμου τοῦ περὶ τὸν Λίβανον τετραρχοῦντος*).[42]

After the Iturean territories had been amalgamated with the province of Syria, regular Roman troops were enlisted there. We meet with Iturean *alae* and *cohortes* from the last decades of the first century in this farthest distant province of the Roman empire.[43]

[41] The city of Heliopolis cannot have belonged to this kingdom of Soemus, since it was from the time of Augustus a Roman colony (Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. 1881, p. 428).

[42] The identity of the Soemus referred to in the latter passage with the one who died in A.D. 49 is not, indeed, quite certain, since there was during the time of Nero and Vespasian a Soemus of Emesa (Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 8. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 18. 9, iii. 4. 2, vii. 7. 1; Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 81, v. 1). The present *τετραρχοῦντος* might be used with reference to the latter. But this grammatical argument is not decisive (comp. Winer's *Grammar*, § 45. 7); and Josephus would scarcely have designated the ruler of Emesa as *τὸν περὶ τὸν Λίβανον τετραρχοῦντα*, especially if, as from Tacitus, *Annales*, xiii. 7, we must assume to have been the case, he ruled over Sophene that lay far off across the Euphrates to the north of Edessa.

[43] The inscriptions in regard to this matter afford us the following data (compare the list of Mommsen, *Ephemeris epigraphica*, vol. v. 1884, p. 194):—

The *ala I. Augusta Ituraeorum* was stationed during A.D. 98 in Pannonia

4. The history of Chalcis, the centre of the former Iturean kingdom, is unknown to us from the death of Cleopatra down to the date of Claudius' accession. The Emperor Claudius, on his coming to the throne in A.D. 41, gifted it to a grandson of Herod the Great, who was also called Herod.[44] He was a

(*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. p. 862, *Dipl.* xix.), in A.D. 110 in Dacia (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. p. 868, *Dipl.* xxv.), in A.D. 167 again in Pannonia (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. p. 888, *Dipl.* xlvi.).—Compare also *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. n. 1382, 3446, 3677, 4367, 4368, 4371; *Corp. Inscr. Rhenan.*, ed. Brambach, n. 2003.—An inscription of Heliopolis dedicated to Jupiter by a *vexillatio alae Ituraeorum*, therefore by a detachment of this *ala* under a separate command, has been found at Rome (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. vi. n. 421).

The *cohors I. Augusta Ituraeorum* was, in A.D. 80, stationed in Pannonia (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. p. 854, *Dipl.* xi.), in A.D. 98 it was still in Pannonia (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. p. 862, *Dipl.* xix.), in A.D. 110 in Dacia (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. p. 868, *Dipl.* xxv.).—Compare also *Corp. Inscr. Rhenan.*, ed. Brambach, n. 1099.

The *cohors I. Ituraeorum*, distinct from the above, was stationed in A.D. 110 in Dacia (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. p. 868, *Dipl.* xxv.).—Compare also *Corp. Inscr. Rhenan.*, ed. Brambach, n. 1233, 1234, 1289. *Notitia dignitatum Occidentis*, xxvi. 16 (ed. Seeck, p. 178).

The *cohors II. Ituraeorum* was stationed, in A.D. 83, in Upper Egypt (*Ephemeris epigr.* vol. v. 1884, p. 612 sq.). Greek inscriptions in the temples at Talmis, Pselchis, and Hiera-Sycaminus (all on the borders of Upper Egypt and Ethiopia) tell, with reference to the time of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, that these soldiers of this cohort had offered their devotions (*Corp. Inscr. Graec.* n. 5050, 5081, 5110).—Subsequently it was stationed in Lower Egypt (*Notitia dignitatum orientis*, xxviii. 44, ed. Seeck, p. 60).

The *cohors III. Ituraeorum* was stationed, in A.D. 83, in Upper Egypt (*Ephemeris epigr.* vol. v. p. 612 sq.).—Compare also *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. viii. n. 2394, 2395, t. ix. n. 1619.

A *cohors VII. Ituraeorum* is supposed to be referred to in an inscription on the Memnon statue at Thebes (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. n. 59). But it has been conjectured that there instead of VII. we should read III.

Reference perhaps is made to the sending of Iturean troops to Moesia in the fragmentary inscription in Le Bas and Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines*, t. iii. n. 2120 (ed. el-Hit, north of the Hauran):—

. . ηξιλάου τοῦ εἰς Μοισίαν . . .
. . τουραίων καὶ στρατη . . .

[44] Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 5. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 11. 5.

brother of Agrippa I., and so a son of Aristobulus, the son of Herod the Great.[45]

Herod of Chalcis had the title *βασιλεύς*, and praetorian rank.[46] He was twice married. His first wife was Mariamme, a granddaughter of Herod the Great. By her he had a son, Aristobulus, [47] who married Salome, the daughter of Herodias, and widow of the tetrarch Philip, and obtained from Nero the government of Lesser Armenia.[48] The second wife of Herod was Berenice, the daughter of his brother Agrippa, who gave her to him in marriage after the death of Marcus, son of Alexander, the alabarch of Alexandria, to whom she was first betrothed.[49] By her he had two sons, Berenicianus and Hyrcanus.[50]

At the assembly of princes which was once convened by Agrippa I. at Tiberias, but had been so rudely treated by the Roman governor Marsus, we find our Herod also present.[51] After the death of Agrippa I. in A.D. 44, he besought from the emperor—and this is the point that makes him an object of interest in the Jewish history—the oversight of the temple and the temple treasury, as well as the right of nominating the high priest. His prayer was granted, and he exercised his right by frequent appointments and depositions of high priests.[52]

[45] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 28. 1.

[46] He is always designated *βασιλεύς* by Josephus. Dio Cassius, lx. 8, speaks of his praetorian rank (*στρατηγικὸν ἀξίωμα*).

[47] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 4, xx. 5. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 11. 6.

[48] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 4, xx. 8. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 13. 2; Tacitus, *Annales*, xiii. 7, xiv. 26.

[49] Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 5. 1: Ταύτην μὲν (τελευτᾷ γὰρ Μάρκος ὁ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱός) παρθένον λαβὼν ἀδελφῷ τῷ αὑτοῦ Ἀγρίππᾳ Ἡρῴδῃ δίδωσι. This is the correct reading, and we should not put marks of parenthesis round *παρθένον λαβών*, as Bekker does. Compare Ewald, *History of Israel*, vii. 197. Berenice therefore was not actually married, but only betrothed to Marcus.

[50] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 5. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 11. 6.

[51] Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 8. 2.

[52] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 1. 3, 5. 2. Compare Div. II. vol. i. p. 196.

On his coins he is named Φιλοκλαύδιος—a natural compliment to the emperor, to whom he owed all his advancement.[53] Whether an honorary inscription of the Athenians to a Ἡρώδης Εὐσεβὴς καὶ Φιλόκαισαρ, refers to him, seems doubtful.[54]

He died after a reign of about seven years, in the 8th year of Claudius, A.D. 48. His nephew, Agrippa II., obtained his kingdom, but probably only at a somewhat later period.[55]

Agrippa continued in possession of Chalcis only till A.D. 53, when he, in return for the surrender of this country, obtained a larger kingdom.[56] The history of Chalcis thereafter recedes again into obscurity. In the time of Vespasian there is, indeed, a King Aristobulus of Chalcidice mentioned, who possibly may be identical with the son of Herod of Chalcis and king of Lesser Armenia.[57] But even if this were so, it is

[53] The coins are given in Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 492; Mionnet, *Description de médailles*, v. 569 sq., *Suppl.* viii. 380; Lenormant, *Trésor de numismatique*, p. 127, pl. lx. n. 8-10; Imhoof-Blumer, *Porträtköpfe auf antiken Münzen* (1885), p. 44, table vi. 20.—Many numismatists have assigned to one Herod a small copper coin with an eagle, and the superscription Βασιλ. Ηρωδ. (so Cavedoni, *Biblische Numismatik*, ii. 35; Levy, *Geschichte der jüd. Münzen*, p. 82; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 111–113). But the fact that the coins have been found in Jerusalem is in favour of the assigning of them to Herod the Great, and the figure of the eagle is not decisive against this view (De Saulcy, *Recherches sur la Numismatique judaïque*, p. 131; Wieseler, *Beiträge zur richtigen Würdigung der Evangelien*, pp. 86–88; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 114, in which he retracts his earlier opinion.

[54] *Corp. Inscr. Attic.* iii. 1, n. 551, at Athens: [Ο δ]ῆμος [βασιλ]έα Ἡρώδην Εὐσεβῆ καὶ Φιλοκαίσαρα [ἀ]ρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ εὐεργεσίας.—Another inscription at Athens (*Corp. Inscr. Attic.* iii. 1, n. 550) honours in a similar manner a βασιλέα Ἡρώδην Φιλορώμαιον.—On account of the diversity in the title, these two references might be applied to two different men; and it seems to be most in accordance with otherwise demonstrable antiquity of the titles to refer n. 550 to Herod the Great, and n. 551 to Herod of Chalcis. But difficulties arise over the fact that the latter on coins calls himself Φιλοκλαύδιος.

[55] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 5. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 11. 6, 12. 1.

[56] Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 7. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 12. 8.

[57] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, vii. 7. 1: τῆς μὲν Χαλκιδικῆς λεγομένης

very doubtful whether by Chalcidice we are to understand the territory of our Chalcis *ad Libanum*, or the territory of Chalcis *ad Belum*. On both see above, p. 329 f.

The city of Chalcis, according to the coins, has an era beginning with A.D. 92, which probably was the year of its incorporation with the province of Syria.[58]

'Αριστόβουλος.—A coin with the superscription Βασιλεως Αριστοβουλου ET IZ (year 17), Τιτω Ουεσπασιανω Αυτοκρατορι Σεβαστω, is communicated by De Saulcy (*Mélanges de Numismatique*, t. iii. 1882, pp. 339–349); Babelon (*Revue Numismatique*, troisième série, t. i. 1883, p. 145, pl. iv. n. 9), and Imhoof-Blumer (*Porträtköpfe*, p. 44, table vi. 21–22, where mention is also made of Aristobulus' wife, Salome).

[58] Norris, *Annus et epochae*, iii. 9. 3 (ed. Lips. p. 316 sqq.); Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 264 sq.; Mionnet, *Description de médailles*, v. 143 sqq., *Suppl.* viii. 115 sqq.

APPENDIX II.

—o—

HISTORY OF THE NABATEAN KINGS.

Literature.

Reland, *Palestina*, pp. 90–95.

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Ritter, *Erdkunde von Asien*, Thl. xii. (1846), pp. 111–140.

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de Numismatique et d'Archéologie, t. v. (=seconde série, t. i.) fasc. 5, 1881, p. 462 sq. (unreadable coins, perhaps of Aretas and Sekailath). (2) *Mélanges de Numismatique*, t. iii. 1882, pp. 193–197 (a coin of Aretas and two of Sylläus ?).

GRÄTZ, "Die Anfänge der Nabatäerherrschaft" (*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1875, pp. 49–67).

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HALÉVY, "Inscriptions nabatéennes" (*Revue des études juives*, t. ix. 1884, pp. 8–16), known only from quotation in Doughty.

CLERMONT-GANNEAU, "Les noms royaux nabatéens employés comme noms divins" (*Revue archéologique*, III^e^ série, t. v. 1885, pp. 170–178).

NEUBAUER, "On some newly-discovered Temanite and Nabataean Inscriptions" (*Studia Biblica*, Oxford 1885, pp. 209–232).

MOMMSEN, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 1885, p. 476 ff.

EUTING, *Nabatäische Inschriften aus Arabien*, Berlin 1885; in this work at pp. 81–89: GUTSCHMID, *Verzeichniss der nabatäischen Könige*—the most complete collection of materials.—Euting gives the same inscriptions for the most part as Doughty and Berger, but much more correctly.

SORLIN-DORIGNY and BABELON, "Monnaies Nebatéennes inédites" (*Revue Numismatique*, troisième sèrie, t. v. 1887, pp. 369–377).

Separate single Nabatean coins have been communicated by Levy, *Numismat. Zeitschrift*, Bd. iii. 1871, pp. 445–448, and Olshausen, *Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie aus dem Jahre*, 1874, p. 185. A Nabatean inscription from Puteoli is given by Gildemeister, *Zeitschrift der DMG.* 1869, pp. 150–154; comp. also, Levy, *Zeitschrift*

der DMG. pp. 652–654; Nöldeke, *Ibid.* 1884, pp. 144, 654. Other examples are given by Renan, *Journal asiatique*, VII^e^ série, t. ii. 1873, pp. 366–382. One inscription from Sidon is given by Levy, in *Zeitschrift der DMG.* 1869, pp. 435–440.

Greek Aretas coins are given in Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 330; Mionnet, *Description de médailles*, v. 284 sq.; Visconti, *Iconographie grecque*, t. ii. (p. 444 sq. = atlas, pl. 48, n. 12; Lenormant, *Trésor de Numismatique*, p. 117, pl. lvi. n. 17–19. A Latin coin of Scaurus, with reference to the subjugation of Aretas, in Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* v. 131; Babelon, *Monnaies de la république romaine*, i. 120 sq.

On the Aretas referred to in the New Testament (2 Cor. xi. 32), see especially Joh. Gottlob Heyne, *De ethnarcha Aretae Arabum regis*, 2 vols. Wittemb. 1755; Anger, *De temporum in actis apostolorum ratione* (1833), pp. 173–182; Wieseler, *Chronologie des apostol. Zeitalters* (1848), pp. 167–175, and the articles on Aretas in Winer's *Realwörterbuch* and Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie* (the latter by Wieseler).

Besides the Syrian empire in the north, and the Egyptian empire in the south, Palestine had during the Graeco-Roman period a third powerful neighbour: the Nabatean kingdom in the south and east. The history of this kingdom can now be set forth in a tolerably connected manner only when the scattered references to it in early writers, particularly in Josephus, are filled out by means of the rich materials afforded by coins and inscriptions. Information regarding the coins has been imparted by the Duc de Luynes (1858), De Vogüé (1868), and De Saulcy (1873); information regarding the inscriptions by De Vogüé (1868), Doughty (1884), Berger (who in 1884 published the materials gathered by the scientific traveller Huber, who perished as a victim in the prosecution of his calling), and Euting (1885). The inscriptions of De Vogüé belong to the district of the Hauran, and therefore to the north of the Nabatean kingdom; those published by Doughty, Berger, and Euting were found for the most part at *el-Hegr.* (= Medain Salih), one of the southernmost points of the kingdom of Nabatea. The latter are specially numerous and important, since almost all of them are dated according

to the years of the reigns of the Nabatean kings Aretas and Malchus. The correct reading of them was for the first time made possible by the careful copies of Euting. This scholar has also correctly determined the meaning of some Nabatean number-signs, and has thereby made corrections upon several conjectured dates in the earlier readings of the coins and inscriptions. The whole material from writers, coins, and inscriptions has been collected together by Gutschmid in an excursus to Euting's works. To his full and informing treatise we are largely indebted for the facts in the following sketch.

About the nation of the Nabateans (*Ναβαταῖοι*, נבטו) we know so little that we can point to no certain indication of its nationality. The language of the coins and inscriptions, which without exception are in Aramaic, seems to confirm Quatremère's supposition that they were Aramaeans. On the other hand, they are uniformly designated by early writers Arabians, and indeed not only by those writing at a distance, but also by such as Josephus, who must have been quite familiar with the distinction between Aramaeans and Arabians. Besides this, it should be noted also that the names on the inscriptions are distinctly Arabian. The idea therefore has rightly been insisted upon principally by Nöldeke that they were Arabians, but that they had made use for literary purposes of the Aramaic as the language of culture at that time, because the Arabic had not yet been developed into a literary language.[1]

Regarding the history of the Nabateans previous to the Hellenic period, we really know next to nothing. Their identity with the נְבָיוֹת who are mentioned in Gen. xxv. 13, xxviii. 9, xxxvi. 3, 1 Chron. i. 29, Isa. lx. 7, as an Arabian tribe, is indeed probable but by no means certain.[2] Nor do

[1] See Nöldeke, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländ. Gesellsch.* Bd. xvii. 1863, p. 703 ff., xxv. 1871, p. 122 ff.

[2] The identity was, it would seem, assumed even by Josephus, *Antiq.* i.

we obtain much further information from the cruciform inscriptions.[3] The first actually reliable information about the Nabateans comes to us at the beginning of the Hellenistic period. We find them then, where in earlier times the Edomites had been settled, between the Dead Sea and the Aelanitic Gulf in the district of Petra, the ancient סֶלַע of the Edomites. When Antigonus, in B.C. 312, had driven Ptolemy Lagus out of Coele-Syria, he sent his general Athenäus with 4000 foot soldiers and 600 cavalry against the Nabateans. Athenäus threw down their stronghold Petra, and took from it great spoil. But in consequence of his own carelessness his army was soon thereafter almost completely annihilated by a night attack of the Nabateans; only fifteen horsemen, and even these mostly wounded, are said to have escaped. Antigonus thereupon sent his son Demetrius against the Nabateans with a new army. But even Demetrius was not able to win any decisive victory. After a fruitless siege of Petra he began again his homeward march, for he had to content himself with arranging for hostages, and taking pledges from the Nabateans that they would maintain friendship. Diodorus, who reports all this to us,[4] gives on this occasion also a description of the Nabateans. They were even then uncivilised nomads, practising no agricultural arts, pursuing no cattle rearing and trade, and evidently still without kings. But gradually culture must have made its way more and more amongst them, until they came to have a sort of civil and political order under regal government. Their dominion

12. 4. He was followed by Jerome, *Quaestiones in Genes.* xxv. 13, *Opp.* ed. Vallarsi, iii. 345, and by most modern commentators. See, besides the literature referred to above, the commentaries on Gen. xxv. 13. The only difficulty arises from the fact that *Nabajoth* is written with ת, *Nabatean* with ט (on coins and inscriptions it is written constantly נבטו).

[3] See Schrader, *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, 1878, pp. 99–116.

[4] Diodorus, xix. 94–100. — Compare Plutarch, *Demetr.* 7; Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, 2 Aufl. ii. 2, pp. 55–59.

was now extended toward the north and toward the south. Their capital continued to be that Petra which so early as the time of Antigonus had formed their strongest place of refuge.[5]

The first prince (*τύραννος*) of the Nabateans of whom we know anything is that Aretas (Aretas I.) with whom the high priest Jason in B.C. 169 in vain sought shelter (2 Macc. v. 8).[6] Since Aretas is designated as *τύραννος* it would seem that the Nabatean princes then had not yet assumed the title of king. —After the outbreak of the Maccabean revolution the Nabatean princes assumed a friendly attitude toward the leaders of the Jewish national party (Judas, B.C. 164; Jonathan, B.C. 160). See 1 Macc. v. 25, ix. 35. The country under their rule now extended as far as to the district east of the Jordan.

[5] Compare on Petra as capital of the Nabateans, especially Strabo, xvi. p. 779; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vi. 28. 144; Josephus, *Antiq.* 1. xiv. 4, 5. 1, 13. 9, xvii. 3. 2, xviii. 5. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 6. 2, 8. 1, 13. 8, 29. 3; Plutarch, *Pompeius*, c. 41; *Periplus maris erythraei*, § 19.—Generally: Reland, *Palaestina*, p. 926 sqq.; Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, ii. 512, 517, 653; Raumer, *Palästina*, pp. 276–278, 451 ff.; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xiv. 1103–1141; Cless in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, v. 1394 ff.; Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, art. "Sela;" Bertheau in Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*, art. "Sela;" Mühlau in Riehm's *Wörterbuch*, art. "Sela;" Dyer in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, art. "Petra," vol. ii. 583; Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 503 sq.; Mionnet, *Description de médailles*, v. 587–589, *Suppl.* viii. 387 sq.; De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, pp. 351, 353, pl. xx. 1–6; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, 2 Aufl. i. 1881, p. 431 f.; Duc de Luynes, *Voyage d'Exploration à la mer morte à Pétra et sur la rive gauche du Jourdain*, 3 vols. Text and 1 of illustr. Paris, *s. a.* [1874] especially pl. 44–49; Bädeker-Socin, *Palästina*, 1875, pp. 303–309.

[6] The Second Book of Macc. v. 8 says with reference to this: Jason was imprisoned by Aretas, prince of the Arabians (*ἐγκλεισθεὶς πρὸς Ἀρέταν τὸν τῶν Ἀράβων τύραννον*), then fled from city to city, etc. Instead of the reading of the common text *ἐγκλεισθείς*, modern expositors have conjectured *ἐγκληθείς* (accused), and interpreted it as meaning that Jason had sought refuge with Aretas, but was not received by him, since, on account of his hostile attitude toward Antiochus Epiphanes, he had been "accused" or denounced before Aretas.

The kingdom of the Nabateans, however, did not rise into greater importance until the end of the second century before Christ, when the fall of the empire of the Ptolemies and the Seleucid dynasty made possible the founding of a powerful independent commonwealth upon their borders. In Justin's abstract from Trogus Pompeius it is said of the period about B.C. 110–100 (Justin, xxxix. 5. 5–6) that this kingdom of Syria and Egypt had become so enfeebled, "ut adsiduis proeliis consumpti in contemptum finitimorum venerint praedaeque Arabum genti, inbelli antea, fuerint: quorum rex Erotimus fiducia septingentorum filiorum, quos ex paelicibus susceperat, divisis exercitibus nunc Aegyptum, nunc Syriam infestabat magnumque nomen Arabum viribus finitimorum exsanguibus fecerat." This Erotimus therefore ought to be regarded as the founder of the royal Nabatean dynasty.[7]

An Aretas II. (*Ἀρέτας ὁ Ἀράβων βασιλεύς*) is spoken of at the time of the siege of Gaza by Alexander Jannäus in B.C. 96. He had promised help to the Gazites, but the city fell into the hands of Alexander before Aretas could afford assistance (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 13. 3).

A couple of years later, about B.C. 90, Alexander Jannäus attacked King Obedas I. (*Ὀβέδαν τὸν Ἀράβων βασιλέα*), but suffered at his hands a crushing defeat on the east of the Jordan (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 13. 5; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 4. 4). De Saulcy, Gutschmid, and Babelon think that to

[7] The two "Arabians," referred to about B.C. 146, 145, "Zabdiel," 1 Macc. xi. 17 (called Zabelus in Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 4. 8, and perhaps identical with Diocles in Diodorus in: Müller, *Fragm. hist. graec.* t. ii. p. xvi.), and "Imalkue," 1 Macc. xi. 39 (called Malchus in Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 5. 1, and in Diodorus in Müller, *Fragm. hist. graec.* ii. p. xvii., called Jamblichus, *i.e.* ימלכו, see vol. i. of present work, p. 247), were probably only petty rulers, not princes of the Nabateans (see Gutschmid in Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften*, p. 81). The very existence of the Maliku I., whom Gutschmid, on the strength of the testimony of a coin, places on the list before Erotimus, is extremely doubtful.

this Obedas I. should be ascribed certain coins with the superscription עבדת מלך נבטו.[8]

Again, another couple of years later, Antiochus XII. advanced from Coele-Syria against the king of the Arabians, whose name is not mentioned. This time also the Arabians were victorious. Antiochus himself fell in the battle at Cana (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 15. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 4. 7). By the unnamed king of the Arabians we are to understand Aretas III., of whom Josephus immediately afterwards tells that he, just in consequence of the death of Antiochus, succeeded in gaining possession of Coele-Syria and Damascus, and then gained a victory over Alexander Jannäus near Adida (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 15. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 4. 8).[9] The power of the Nabatean kings was thus now, about B.C. 85, extended as far as Damascus.[10] To our Aretas III. the Numismatists have rightly assigned the coins

[8] De Saulcy, *Annuaire*, t. iv. p. 18 sq.; Gutschmid in Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften*, p. 82. An example of this coin is also given by Levy, *Numismat. Zeitschrift*, iii. 1871, pp. 445–448. — The specimen published by Babelon (*Revue Numismatique*, 1887, p. 371 sq.) has the superscription עבדת מלכא מלך נבטו, and is of the fifth year (שנת חמש).

[9] Gutschmid understands by the unnamed king Rabilus, by whom, according to Steph. Byz., "the Macedonian Antigonus was slain" (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Μωθώ· κώμη Ἀραβίας, ἐν ᾗ ἔθανεν Ἀντίγονος ὁ Μακεδὼν ὑπὸ Ῥαβίλου τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἀραβίων, ὡς Οὐράνιος ἐν πέμπτῳ). Instead of Ἀντίγονος, Gutschmid reads Ἀντίοχος, and understood by it Antiochus XII. It seems to me, however, that this hypothesis is shattered by a careful comparison of Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 15. 2 with 15. 1. It would also thus be necessary to assume two kings between Aretas II. in B.C. 96 and Aretas III. in B.C. 85. In the passage from Steph. Byz. we must in any case suppose that some confusion has entered in. But all the less can we build upon it any satisfactory conclusion. Compare also Müller, *Fragm. hist. graec.* iv. 525.

[10] Damascus, however, cannot have continued in unbroken possession of the Arabians down to the Roman conquest; for, according to a coin of the year 243 *Seleuc. aera* = B.C. 70–69 (Mionnet, *Suppl.* viii. 193), it was then autonomous. In agreement with this also is the fact that it was occupied about that time by the Jewish queen Alexandra in order to protect it against Ptolemy Mennäus (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 16. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 5. 3).

with the superscription, *Βασιλέως Ἀρέτου Φιλέλληνος*. These can belong to no other Aretas, for they were minted in Damascus; and not indeed to the younger Aretas IV., since he called himself "the Friend of his People."[11] The coins witness therefore to the prevalence of Hellenism at that period in the Nabatean kingdom.—In the time of this Aretas there occurred also the first collision with the Romans. We know from the Jewish history that Aretas, in the conflict between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, sided with the party of Hyrcanus, supported him with his troops, and laid siege to Aristobulus in Jerusalem; but then, at the command of the Roman general Scaurus, he withdrew, and on his return march was defeated by Aristobulus (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 1. 4–2. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 6. 2–3). Thereupon Pompey had made a resolve to go himself against Aretas. But during his march to Petra he was obliged by the hostile attitude of Aristobulus to make his way back to Judea (*Antiq.* xiv. 3. 3–4). After the conquest of Jerusalem, Pompey made over the province of Syria to Scaurus (*Antiq.* xiv. 4. 5); and this general was the first to lead an expedition against Petra, but obtained from Aretas no more than the payment of a sum of money (*Antiq.* xiv. 5. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 8. 1). Only to this extent was the subjugation of Aretas carried, of which Pompey had boasted,[12] and which was gloried over

[11] See the coins in Eckhel, *Doctr. Num. Vet.* iii. 330; Mionnet, *Description de médailles*, v. 284 sq.; Visconti, *Iconographie grecque*, ii. 444 sq. = atlas, pl. 48, n. 12; Lenormant, *Trésor de numismatique*, p. 117, pl. lvi. n. 17, 18; Duc de Luynes, *Revue Numismatique*, 1858, p. 293 sq., pl. xiv. n. 2, 3; De Saulcy, *Annuaire*, t. iv. 1873, p. 11 sq., pl. i. n. 4, 5; Imhoof-Blumer, *Porträtköpfe* (1885), p. 47, Illust. vi. 24.—One of these coins has the year number AP = 101, on which compare Duc de Luynes, *Revue Numismatique*, 1858, p. 311 sq. The reference of this coin to Aretas IV., which Rohden favours (*De Palaestina et Arabia provinciis Romanis*, 1885, p. 6 sq.), is impossible, since the title on it, רחם עמה, cannot be synonymous with *Φιλέλλην*.

[12] Diodorus, xl. 4 = *Exc. Vatican*, pp. 128–130. Compare also Dio Cassius, xxxvii. 15; Plutarch, *Pompeius*, 41; Appian, *Mithridat.* 106; Orosius, vi. 6.

upon a coin struck in memory of the event.[13] The city of Damascus, on the very first appearance of the Romans in Syria, had been laid siege to by the legates of Pompey (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 2. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 6. 2), and from that time onward continued under Roman suzerainty.[14]

[13] Eckhel, *Doctr. Num. Vet.* v. 131; Babelon, *Monnaies de la république romaine*, t. i. 1885, p. 120 sq. On the coin Aretas is represented as kneeling, with the superscription: "Rex Aretas, M. Scaur. aed. cur., ex S. C."

[14] Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. 405, and Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 476 f., assume from 2 Cor. xi. 32 that Damascus, from the beginning of the Roman period down to A.D. 106, had continued in subjection to the Arabian kings. But, besides the passage from Jerome quoted by us in Div. II. vol. i. p. 97, the following evidence seems to tell against that view: (1) According to Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 18. 74, and Ptolemy, v. 15. 22, it belonged to Decapolis, *i.e.* to the cities which had their freedom given them, and were placed only under the general supervision of the Roman governor of Syria. It cannot therefore, in consequence of the arrangements made by Pompey, have been given over to the king of Arabia. (2) The existence of a "cohors I. Flavia Damascenorum" (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. iii. 2, p. 870, *Dipl.* n. xxvii.; *Ephemeris epigr.* t. v. p. 194 and p. 652 sq., a military diploma of Domitian of A.D. 90 found at Mainz) proves that at latest in the time of the Flavian dynasty, therefore in the first Christian century, regular enlistments of Roman troops were made in Damascus. This, to say the least of it, was very unlikely to occur in a city belonging to the territory of an Arabian king, although, indeed, Mommsen regards such enlistment as possible in the territories of kings who recognised the sovereignty of Rome (Hermes, xix. 48, 49). (3) After the territory of the Arabian king had been converted in A.D. 106 into a Roman province, Damascus belonged not to the Roman province of Arabia, but to the province of Syria. (So, along with others, testifies Justin in the *Dial. c. Trypho*, c. 78 *s. fin.*: Δαμασκὸς τῆς ἀῤῥαβικῆς γῆς ἦν καὶ ἔστιν, εἰ καὶ νῦν προσνενέμηται τῇ Συροφοινίκῃ λεγομένῃ.) (4) In the boundary dispute between the Sidonians and the Damascenes in the time of Tiberius (*Antiq.* xviii. 6. 3), mention is made only of the suzerainty of the Roman governor, not of that of the Arabian king. (5) Also the coins of Damascus, with the images of Augustus, Tiberius, Nero, are very unfavourable to the idea of a contemporary subjection to the king of Arabia. Recently Rohden has therefore rightly (*De Palaestina et Arabia provinciis Romanis*, 1885, pp. 4–9) decided against the views of Marquardt and Mommsen.—Wandel (*Zeitschrift für kirchl. Wissensch. und kirchl. Leben*, 1887, pp. 433–443) thinks he has made a completely new discovery when he declares that Damascus was "neither Arabian nor Roman, but an independent state with certain guaranteed

—The period of the reign of Aretas III. extends, according to the hitherto prevailing view, from somewhere about B.C. 85 to B.C. 60. On account of the similarity between his portrait and that of Aretas Philellen, some of the Nabatean coins with the superscription חרתת מלך נבטו have been ascribed to him.[15] On one we meet with the number 17 or 18 (so Euting-Gutschmid, not as was formerly read, 32 or 33).

In B.C. 55 Gabinius undertook an expedition against the Nabateans. Whether at that time Aretas or his successor Malchus occupied the throne is not stated by Josephus (*Antiq.* xiv. 6. 4; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 8. 7).

Malchus I. (*Μάλχος* or *Μάλιχος*, see Nöldeke in Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften*, p. 63) reigned from B.C. 50 to B.C. 28. In B.C. 47 he placed cavalry at the service of Caesar for the Alexandrian war (*Bell. Alex.* i.). When the Parthians conquered Palestine in B.C. 40, Herod wished to take refuge with Malchus, but was not received by him (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 14. 1–2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 14. 1–2). On account of the aid given by him to the Parthians, Ventidius exacted from him a tribute in B.C. 39 (Dio Cassius, xlviii. 41). Antony bestowed a portion of his territory upon Cleopatra (Dio Cassius, xlix. 32; Plutarch, *Anton.* 36; Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, i. 18. 4).[16] In B.C. 32 Malchus sent to Antony auxiliary troops for the Actean war (Plutarch, *Anton.* 61). Since he no longer paid the tribute for the portion granted to Cleopatra, war was waged against him by Herod at the instigation of Antony. The war, which at the beginning was favourable to the Arabians, ended in their utter overthrow in

liberties under Roman suzerainty and Roman protectors" (p. 441 f.). This, so far as it is correct, is precisely the view of those who speak of it as "Roman."

[15] De Vogüé, *Revue Numismatique*, 1868, p. 157; De Saulcy, *Annuaire*, iv. p. 13.

[16] The statement of Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, i. 22. 3, that Malchus was put to death at the instigation of Cleopatra, is erroneous.

B.C. 32–31 (Josephus *Antiq.* xv. 5; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 19). The last that we hear of Malchus is that he promised the aged Hyrcanus to support him in the revolt planned against Herod in B.C. 30 (*Antiq.* xv. 6. 2–3).—To our Malchus De Vogüé thinks a Nabatean inscription at Bozra should be referred, in which "the eleventh year of King Maliku" is spoken of (שנת 11 למלכו מלכא).[17] Renan finds this same Malchus (מלכו מלך נבטו) on an inscription which has been discovered at Puteoli.[18]

Obodas II., about B.C. 28–9, was king during the campaign of Aelius Gallus against the southern Arabians, B.C. 25–24, in which campaign a thousand Nabatean auxiliary troops took part. He made over the concerns of government wholly to his ἐπίτροπος Syllaeus, who gave to Aelius Gallus evil counsel as to the course of march that he should take (Strabo, xvi. pp. 780–782). Obodas is still spoken of as king in the last days of Herod, when Syllaeus went to Jerusalem to treat for the hand of Salome, the sister of Herod (*Antiq.* xvi. 7. 6; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 24. 6), and when Herod undertook an expedition against the Arabians (*Antiq.* xvi. 9. 1 and 4). Just about that time, B.C. 9 (?), Obodas died it is supposed by poison administered to him by Syllaeus (*Antiq.* xvi. 9. 4). Some coins have been communicated by De Saulcy.[19]

Aretas IV., whose original name was Aeneas, from B.C. 9 till A.D. 40, succeeded Obodas immediately in the possession of the throne (*Antiq.* xvi. 9. 4).[20] Because of his assuming

[17] De Vogüé, *Syrie centrale, Inscriptions sémitiques*, pp. 103–105. The inscription is, according to De Vogüé (p. 114), written in an older character than the other inscriptions which have come down from the first century after Christ.

[18] Renan, *Journal asiatique*, VII^e^ série, t. ii. 1873, pp. 366–382.

[19] De Saulcy, *Annuaire*, t. iv. p. 19. Also Euting-Gutschmid, p. 84.—Two coins of Syllaeus (?) are given by De Saulcy, *Mélanges de Numismatique*, t. iii. 1882, p. 196.

[20] The year of the accession to the throne cannot be with certainty determined. Compare the chronology of the last years of Herod in vol. i. p. 414.

the government of his own accord, Augustus was at first indignant, but afterwards recognised him as king (*Antiq.* xvi. 10. 9). Aretas repeatedly preferred accusations against Syllaeus before Augustus (*Antiq.* xvii. 3. 2; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 29. 3), and in consequence of these complaints Syllaeus was put to death in Rome (Strabo, xvi. p. 782; Nicholas of Damascus in Müller, *Fragm. hist. graec.* iii. 351). When, after the death of Herod in B.C. 4, the governor Varus was obliged to fit out a warlike expedition against the Jews, Aretas contributed auxiliary troops to his army (*Antiq.* xvii. 10. 9; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 5. 1).—From the long reign of Aretas only a few incidents belonging to its latest period have come down to us. The tetrarch Herod Antipas had a daughter of Aretas for his wife, and her he subsequently divorced in order to marry Herodias. The enmity occasioned thereby between the two princes was further inflamed by disputes regarding boundaries. An open conflict followed, in which the army of Herod was defeated by the troops of Aretas. Owing to his having proceeded at his own instance, Aretas was to have been chastised by the governor Vitellius at the instigation of the Emperor Tiberius. But when Vitellius, on his march against Petra, received in Jerusalem the tidings of the death of Tiberius he turned back, leaving his task unperformed (*Antiq.* xviii. 5. 1 and 3). These events therefore belong to the latest years of the reign of Tiberius, A.D. 36–37. At a period not much later occurred Paul's flight from Damascus, at which time Damascus was under a governor (ἐθνάρχης) of King Aretas (2 Cor. xi. 32). We learn from this statement that now again Damascus belonged to the domain of the Arabian king. This is also confirmed by the fact that from the time of Caligula and Claudius no coins of Damascus are known having the image of the Roman emperor. Compare Div. II. vol. i. pp. 97, 98. Probably Caligula, who was induced to the performance of such acts of grace, had restored the city to

Aretas.[21]—Of no other Nabatean king have we so rich materials in coins and inscriptions as of Aretas IV. Among the inscriptions of el-Hegr = Medain-Salih, which Doughty, Huber, and, most correctly of all, Euting have communicated, there are found no fewer than twenty which are dated from the reign of this Aretas, most of which are in a good state of preservation.[22] The same Aretas is probably also referred to in an inscription at Sidon,[23] and on the two inscriptions from Puteoli.[24] His name also occurs not infrequently on coins.[25] On the inscriptions at el-Hegr he is constantly called חרתת מלך נבטו רחם עמה, "Charitheth, king of the Nabateans, who loves his people" (*Rachem-ammeh*). It is the same also, as a rule, upon the coins. The title *Rachem-ammeh* is an expression of a national patriotic sentiment, and embraces an indirect

[21] So also Gutschmid in Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften*, p. 85. The older literature on this question is given by Anger, Wieseler, Winer in the above-named works. Very improbable is the view presented in various forms that Aretas had gained possession of Damascus by force. Such an attack upon Roman territory could not have been left unheeded. The coins of Damascus with the image of Tiberius come down to the year 345 *Seleuc. aera* = A.D. 33–34 (Mionnet, v. 286; De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, p. 36); those of Nero begin with the year 374, *Seleuc. aera* = A.D. 62–63 (Mionnet, v. 286; De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, p. 36). In the interval Damascus may have been in the possession of the Arabian king.

[22] Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften*, pp. 24–61 (Nr. 1–20).

[23] De Vogüé, *Syrie centrale, Inscriptions sémitiques*, p. 113 = Levy, *Zeitschrift der DMG.* 1869, p. 435 ff. With reference to the date, compare also Euting-Gutschmid, p. 85. De Saulcy is inclined to refer it to Aretas III., and by the Zoilus therein spoken about, to understand the person of that name known to us from Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 12. 2 and 4. See *Comptes rendus de la société française de numismatique et d'archéologie*, 1873, which is known to be only by Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, ii. 1246 f.

[24] Gildemeister, *Zeitschrift der DMG.* 1869, p. 150 ff.; Levy in same journal, p. 652 ff.; Nöldeke in same journal, 1884, pp. 144, 654; Renan, *Journal asiatiques*, VII^e^ série, t. ii. 1873, p. 366 sqq.—With regard to the dating of both, compare Euting-Gutschmid, p. 85.

[25] Duc de Luynes, *Revue Numismatique*, 1858, pp. 294–296; De Vogüé, *Revue Numismatique*, 1868, p. 162 sqq.; De Saulcy, *Annuaire*, t. iv. 1873, pp. 13–17; Babelon, *Revue Numismatique*, 1887, pp. 374–377.

refusal or repudiation of such titles as *Φιλορώμαιος* or *Φιλόκαισαρ* (Gutschmid, p. 85).[26] That this very Aretas, *Rachem-ammeh*, is identical with Aretas IV. may be regarded as certain. For the year of this reign as given on the inscriptions of el-Hegr reach down to the year 48, and indeed the twenty-eighth year is written on both inscriptions (Euting, No. 16 and 17) in words, שנת ארבעין ותמונא לחרתת מלך נבטו רחם עמה, so that a doubt in regard to the number is impossible. The coins (also according to Euting-Gutschmid, p. 85) come down to the year 48; but only Aretas IV. can have reigned for so long a time. And there is thus also a proof supplied that the Aretas mentioned in the last years of Herod the Great is identical with the opponent of Herod Antipas.

Abias, *ὁ Ἀράβων βασιλεύς*, in the time of Claudius undertook a warlike expedition against Izates of Adiabene, in which he was aided by the very subjects of Izates, who were disgusted at his conversion to Judaism. Abias was conquered by Izates, and in order to escape falling into his enemy's hands took his own life (*Antiq.* xx. 4. 1).—In Gutschmid's list this Abias is not inserted (or is overlooked?). But certainly the fact is remarkable that a Nabatean king takes the field against the Adiabene lying on the other side of the Euphrates. —In another place, however, Josephus says expressly that *Ναβατηνή* stretched from the Red Sea to the Euphrates.[27]

Malchus II., about A.D. 48–71, in A.D. 67 contributed auxiliary troops to the army of Vespasian for the Jewish war (Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iii. 4. 2), and is mentioned in the *Periplus maris Erythraei*, composed about A.D. 70, as

[26] He casually remarks that one should expect, according to the Semitic חרתת, naturally *Ἀρέθας*, as indeed the well-known bishop of Caesarea names himself. The form *Ἀρέτας* undoubtedly has arisen under the influence of the Greek word *ἀρετή*.

[27] Josephus, *Antiq.* i. 12. 4: *οὗτοι* (*scil.* the descendants of Ishmael) *πᾶσαν τὴν ἀπ' Εὐφράτου καθήκουσαν πρὸς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν κατοικοῦσι, Ναβατηνὴν τὴν χώραν ὀνομάσαντες.*

king of the Nabateans (*Periplus maris Erythraei*, § 19, ed. Fabricius: *Δευκὴ κώμη, διὰ ἧς ὁδός ἐστιν εἰς Πέτραν πρὸς Μαλίχαν, βασιλέα Ναβαταίων*). An inscription at Salkhat in the Hauran is dated from "the seventeenth year of Maliku, king of the Nabateans, son of Charithath, king of the Nabateans, who loves his people" (*Rachem-ammeh*).[28] At *el-Hegr* were found six inscriptions, which are dated according to the years of the reign of Maliku,[29] of which the latest (Euting, No. 26) is of "the twenty-first year of King Maliku, king of the Nabateans," בשנת עשרין וחדה למלכו מלכא מלך נבטו. There are coins of the year 9, and of the year 23 (so Euting-Gutschmid, p. 86, not as De Vogüé, who reads 25 and 33).[30] Since the king Rabel, according to the inscription of D'mer, succeeded to the throne in A.D. 71, Malchus reigned from about A.D. 48 to 71. During his time also Damascus had been, probably by Nero, again separated from the Nabatean kingdom (see above, p. 357).

Rabel, A.D. 71–106, is known only from inscriptions and coins. His name is, according to Euting, to be pronounced not as formerly Dabel, but Rabel (רבאל). An older *Ῥάβιλος βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἀραβίων* is mentioned in Steph. Byz. *s.v. Μωθώ* (see above, p. 352). The year of his accession to the throne can be precisely determined according to the inscription at D'mer, which is dated from the month Ijjar "in the year 405 according to the reckoning of the Romans, that is, in the twenty-fourth year of the king Rabel."[31] By the year 405, "according to the reckoning of the Romans,"

[28] De Vogüé, *Syrie centrale, Inscriptions sémitiques*, p. 107; Schröder, *Zeitschrift der DMG.* 1884, p. 532 f.

[29] Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften*, pp. 61–68 (Nr. 21–26).

[30] Duc de Luynes, *Revue Numismatique*, 1858, p. 296 sq.; De Vogüé, *Revue Numismatique*, 1868, p. 166 sq.; De Saulcy, *Annuaire*, t. iv. 1873, p. 17 sq.—A coin of Malchus and Sekilath without date is given by Sorlin-Dorigny, *Revue Numismatique*, 1887, p. 369 sq.

[31] So reads Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften*, p. 86. The first to publish it was Sachau in *Zeitschrift der DMG.* 1884, p. 535 ff.; and he read 410.

is to be understood the year of the Seleucid era. Accordingly the date corresponds to May A.D. 94. See Gutschmid, p. 86. The first year of Rabel is A.D. 71. On two inscriptions at *el-Hegr* the second and fourth year of Rabel are mentioned;[32] on an inscription at Salkhat in the Hauran the twenty-fifth, שנת עשרין וחמש לרבאל;[33] the coins give no certain date.[34] Since on some coins Rabel is mentioned along with his mother, he must have been a minor at the time of his accession. Mention of him on the inscription at D'mer, east of Damascus, on the way to Palmyra, proves that the Nabatean dominion extended to that region.

Rabel was probably the last king of the Nabateans, for in A.D. 106 "Arabia belonging to Petra" was converted by Cornelius Palma, the governor of Syria, into a Roman province.[35] The boundary of the province seems to have approached that of what had been the Nabatean kingdom.[36] In any case, Petra in the south and Bostra in the north (in the district of Hauran), both of which reckoned according to the provincial era of A.D. 106, had belonged to that

[32] Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften*, pp. 68–70 (Nr. 27, 28).

[33] De Vogüé, *Syrie centrale, Inscriptions sémitiques*, p. 112.

[34] Duc de Luynes, *Revue Numismatique*, 1884, p. 297 sq.; De Vogüé, *Revue Numismatique*, 1868, p. 167 sq.; De Saulcy, *Annuaire*, t. iv. 1873, pp. 19–21. In addition: Euting-Gutschmid, p. 86.

[35] Dio Cassius, lxviii. 14: *κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον καὶ Πάλμας τῆς Συρίας ἄρχων τὴν Ἀραβίαν τὴν πρὸς τῇ Πέτρᾳ ἐχειρώσατο καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὑπήκοον ἐποιήσατο.* Compare, Ammianus, xiv. 8. 13. The fact is also celebrated by coins of Trajan, with the superscription *Arab. adquisit* (Cohen, *Médailles impériales*, 2 ed. vol. ii. 1882, Trajan, n. 26–38).—On Cornelius Palma, see also Le Bas and Waddington, *Inscriptions*, t. iii. n. 2296, 2297, 2305; *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* t. vi. n. 2186; Liebenam, *Forschungen zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des röm. Kaiserreichs*, Bd. i. 1888, p. 43 f.—On the incorporation of Arabia: Dierauer in Büdinger's *Untersuchungen zur röm. Kaisergeschichte*, i. 111; De la Berge, *Essai sur la règne de Trajan*, Paris 1877, pp. 71–73; Schiller, *Geschichte der röm. Kaiserzeit*, i. 2, p. 554.

[36] Rohden (*De Palaestina et Arabia provinciis Romanis*, pp. 15, 17) makes an attempt to determine the boundaries more exactly.

kingdom as its most important cities.[37] Subsequently in the fourth Christian century Arabia was divided into two provinces: Arabia with Bostra as its capital, and *Palaestina tertia* with Petra as its capital.[38]

[37] *Chronicon Paschale* (ed. Dindorf, i. 472): Πετραῖοι καὶ Βοστρηνοὶ ἐντεῦθεν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν χρόνους ἀριθμοῦσι. The *Chronicon Paschale* makes this remark under the year 105 ("Candido et Quadrato Coss."). But the exact date of the epoch was 22nd March 106. See Waddington, "Les ères employées en Syrie" (*Revue archéologique*, nouv. série, t. xi. 1865, pp. 263–272); Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. 431; Gutschmid in Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften*, p. 87. The inscriptions are given in Le Bas and Waddington, *Inscriptions*, t. iii. n. 2088, 2462, 2463. See also Waddington's explanations of n. 2463.

[38] On the history of the province, see Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Bd. i. 2 Aufl. 1881, pp. 431–434, and the literature quoted there; Kuhn, *Die städtische und bürgerliche Verfassung des röm. Reichs*, ii. 373–388; Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 471–486; Rohden, *De Palaestina et Arabia provinciis Romanis quaestiones selectae*, Diss. Berol. 1885. Rohden gives at pp. 49–57 a list of the governors of the province, and seeks to show at pp. 22–30 that the partition of the province took place between A.D. 357 and A.D. 361. See also, Liebenam, *Forschungen zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des röm. Kaiserreichs*, Bd. i. 1888, pp. 42, 49, for a list of the governors.

APPENDIX III.

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THE JEWISH AND MACEDONIAN MONTHS COMPARED WITH THE JULIAN CALENDAR.

1.	נִיסָן	Nisan	Ξανθικός	April.
2.	אִיָר	Ijjar	Ἀρτεμίσιος	May.
3.	סִיוָן	Sivan	Δαίσιος	June.
4.	תַּמּוּז	Tammuz	Πάνεμος	July.
5.	אָב	Ab	Λῷος	August.
6.	אֱלוּל	Elul	Γορπιαῖος	September.
7.	תִּשְׁרִי	Tischri	Ὑπερβερεταῖος	October.
8.	מַרְחֶשְׁוָן	Marcheshvan	Δῖος	November.
9.	כִּסְלֵו	Chisleu	Ἀπελλαῖος	December.
10.	טֵבֵת	Tebeth	Αὐδυναῖος	January.
11.	שְׁבָט	Shebat	Περίτιος	February.
12.	אֲדָר	Adar	Δύστρος	March.

The Jewish names of the months, as has been now thoroughly established by the cuneiform inscriptions, are of Babylonian-Assyrian origin. On the tablet of months discovered at Nineveh the names are given as follows (see Schrader, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, London 1885–1888, vol. ii. p. 69): Nisaannu, Airu, Sivanu, Duuzu, Abu, Ululu, Tasritav, Araah samna, Kisilivu, Tibituv, Sabatu, Addaru.—Within the realm of Judaism the most ancient document which gives the names of the months in regular succession is the *Megillath Taanith*, which was edited sometime during the first Christian century, since it is quoted in the Mishna (see vol. i. of this work, p. 163). Of later

witnesses we need here mention only the little-known Christian Josephus, who, in his *Hypomnesticum*, c. 27, gives the following list (Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus Vet. Test.* t. ii. Appendix, also in Gallandi, *Bibl. patr.* t. xiv., and Migne, *Patrolog. graec.* t. cvi.): *Νησάν, Εἴαρ, Σιουάν, Θαμούζ, Ἀβ, Ἐλούλ, Ὀσρί* [read *Θισρί*], *Μαρσαβάν, Χασελεῦ, Τηβήθ, Σαβάθ, Ἀδάρ.* In regard to the several names the oldest proofs and examples, apart from the cuneiform inscriptions, occur in the following passages:—

1. נִיסָן, Neh. ii. 1; Esth. iii. 7; Mishna, *Pesachim* iv. 9; *Shekalim* iii. 1; *Rosh hashana* i. 1, 3, 4; *Taanith* i. 2, 7, iv. 5; *Nedarim* viii. 5; *Bechoroth* ix. 5. Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften aus Arabien* (1885), n. ii. 4, v. 3, x. 7, xi. 7, xii. 9, xvi. 3, xx. 8, xxi. 4; De Vogüé, *Syrie centrale, Inscriptions sémitiques* (1868), *Palmyrenische Inschriften*, n. i. 2, 4, 6, 18, 23, 25, 26, 27, 32, 34, and elsewhere.—The Greek Νισάν occurs in *Esra apocr.* v. 6; Additions to Esther i. 1; Josephus, *Antiq.* i. 3. 3, ii. 14. 6, iii. 8. 4, 10. 5, xi. 4. 8.

2. אִיָּר, *Rosh hashana* i. 3; Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften*, n. viii. 10, ix. 9, xiii. 8, xxvii. 13; De Vogüé, *Inscript. sémit. Palmyren.* n. 88.—Ἰάρ, Josephus, *Antiq.* viii. 3. 1.

3. סִיוָן, Esth. viii. 9; *Shekalim* iii. 1; *Bechoroth* ix. 5; De Vogüé, *Palmyren.* n. 33ª and 33ᵇ.—Σιουάν, Baruch i. 8.

4. תַּמּוּז, *Taanith* iv. 5, 6.

5. אָב, *Pesachim* iv. 5; *Shekalim* iii. 1; *Rosh hashana* i. 3; *Taanith* ii. 10, iv. 5, 6; *Megilla* i. 3; *Bechoroth* ix. 5; Euting, n. vii. 5; De Vogüé, n. 5, 28, 29, 73, 84, 103.—In Josephus, *Antiq.* iv. 4. 7, we have the reading Ἀββά (more correctly Ἀβά). It is, indeed, only a conjectural reading introduced by Bernard, but it is a well-conceived conjecture. For the Σαβά adopted, in accordance with the manuscripts by Niese, cannot possibly have been written by Josephus.

6. אֱלוּל, Neh. vi. 15; *Shekalim* iii. 1; *Rosh hashana* i. 1, 3; *Taanith* iv. 5; *Bechoroth* ix. 5, 6; Euting, n. i. 3; De Vogüé, n. 78, 79, 123ª I.—Ἐλούλ, 1 Macc. xiv. 27.

7. תִּשְׁרִי, *Shekalim* iii. 1; *Rosh hashana* i. 1, 3, 4; *Bechoroth* ix. 5, 6; De Vogüé, n. 17, 22, 85, 123ª II.—In Josephus, *Antiq.* viii. 4. 1, where editions since Hudson have *Θισρί*, Niese reads Ἀθύρει. But Hudson's reading, which is supported by the form used by older Latin writers, is without doubt the correct one.

8. מַרְחֶשְׁוָן, *Taanith* i. 3, 4.—Μαρσουάνης, Josephus, *Antiq.* i. 3. 3.—On

the Palmyrene inscriptions this month is called *Kanun*, כנן, De Vogüé, n. 31, 63, 64.

9. כִּסְלֵו, Zech. vii. 1; Neh. i. 1; *Rosh hashana* i. 3; *Taanith* i. 5.—Χασελεῦ, 1 Macc. i. 54, iv. 52; 2 Macc. i. 9, 18, x. 5; Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 5. 4, 7. 6.—On the Palmyrene inscriptions the name is given in the form כסלול, *Kislul* or *Kaslul* (De Vogüé, n. 24, 75).

10. טֵבֵת, Esth. ii. 16; *Taanith* iv. 5; Euting, n. iii. 2, xiv. 9, xv. 8; De Vogüé, n. 66, 123[a] III.—Τεβέθ, Josephus, *Antiq.* xi. 5. 4.

11. שְׁבָט, Zech. i. 7; *Rosh hashana* i 1; Euting, n. iv. 9; De Vogüé, n. 67, 89.—Σαβάτ, 1 Macc. xvi. 14.

12. אֲדָר, frequently in the Book of Esther, and also in *Additions* to that book; *Shekalim* i. 1, iii. 1; *Rosh hashana* i. 3; *Megilla* i. 4, iii. 4; *Nedarim* viii. 5; *Edujoth* vii. 7; *Bechoroth* ix. 5; Euting, n. xxiv. 6; De Vogüé, n. 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 19, 94, 117, 119.—Ἀδάρ, 1 Macc. vii. 43, 49; 2 Macc. xv. 36; Josephus, *Antiq.* iv. 8. 49, xi. 6. 2, xii. 10. 5.—אֲדָר הָרִאשׁוֹן and אֲדָר הַשֵּׁנִי, *Megilla* i. 4; *Nedarim* viii. 5.

The Jewish months continued always to be, what the "months" of all civilised nations originally were, actual lunar months. Since the astronomical length of a month is equivalent to 29 days, 12 hours, 44 minutes, 3 seconds (Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. 43), then it must follow that in actual practice months of 29 and months of 30 days must pretty regularly alternate with one another.—But twelve such lunar months would give only 354 days, 8 hours, 48 minutes, and 38 seconds (Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. 66), whereas the solar year embraces 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes, and 48 seconds (Ideler, i. 35, 66) The difference between a lunar year of twelve months and the solar year is 10 days and 21 hours. In order to do away with this difference a month must be intercalated, at least, in every third year, sometimes even in the second. It was observed in very early times that a sufficiently accurate equation would be reached, if three times in every eight years a month were intercalated (the difference in eight years amounting to 87 days). Acquaintance with this cycle of eight years, this "Octaeteris," was possessed by those who

arranged the Greek games for every fourth year; for the cycle of four years is only got by halving that of eight years.[1] But even as early as the fifth century before Christ, the astronomer Meton of Athens proposed a still more exact system of equation, a cycle of nine years, in which a month had to be seven times intercalated.[2] This was considerably in advance of the eight years' cycle in accuracy, since in this case in 19 years only a difference of somewhere about 2 hours remained (Ideler, i. 47), whereas in the eight years' cycle in 8 years there was a remaining difference of $1\frac{1}{2}$ days.

How far, then, had the Jews in the time of Christ advanced in the knowledge of these matters? They, naturally, had a general sort of acquaintance with them. But, unless all indications are deceitful, they did not in the time of Jesus Christ possess as yet any fixed calendar, but on the basis of a purely empirical observation, on each occasion they began a new month with the appearing of the new moon, and likewise on the basis of each repeated observation intercalated a month in the spring of every third and second year, in accordance with the rule that the Passover under all circumstances must fall after the vernal equinox.[3]

[1] Compare on the antiquity of the "Octaeteris," Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. 304 f., ii. 605; Boeckh, *Zur Geschichte der Mondcyclen der Hellenen* (*Jahrbücher für class. Philol.* 1. *Supplementbd.* 1855–1856), p. 9 ff.; Adolf Schmidt, *Handbuch der griechischen Chronologie*, *herausg. von Rühl*, Jena 1888, pp. 61–95.

[2] According to Diodorus, xii. 36, Meton made known his system in B.C. 433–432. Compare also Theophrastus, *de signis tempestatum*, c. 4; Aelian, *Variae historiae*, x. 7.—But the introduction of the system of Meton at Athens did not take place, as Boeckh was the first to prove, until some time later (according to Usener, B.C. 312; according to Unger, between B.C. 346 and B.C. 325, see *Philologus*, xxxix. 1880, p. 475 ff.; Dürr is in favour of the former view in *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*, 1881, p. 90 ff.). Compare, generally, on the Calendar of the Athenians, Mommsen, *Chronologie, Untersuchungen über des Kalenderwesen der Griechen insonderheit der Athener*, 1883, and Adolf Schmidt, *Handbuch der griechischen Chronologie*, 1888.

[3] For the view that the Jews had even in the time of Christ a fixed

1. The author of the astronomical pieces in the Book of Enoch was aware that the year has six months of 30 days each and as many of 29 days each;[4] and Galen, in the second century after Christ, says that "the people of Palestine" divide the period of every two months, embracing 59 days, into two unequal halves, so that they reckon to one month 30 days, and to the other 29 days.[5] But it would be a mistake if we were from this to draw the conclusion that the duration of the months was *à priori* strictly determined. Even in the age of the Mishna, in the second Christian century, this cannot have been the case; for the whole legislation of the Mishna rests on the presupposition that the new month, without previous reckoning, was begun each time upon the new moon becoming visible. So soon as the appearance of the new moon was proved by credible witnesses before the competent court at Jerusalem and later at Jamnia, the new moon was solemnized, and, after all the rites had been observed, messengers were sent in order to notify the opening of the new month. So, at least, was it done during the six months in which it was of importance on account of the existence of any festival: in Nisan on account of the

calendar, Wieseler has argued with special vigour (*Chronological Synopsis of the Four Gospels*, p. 401 ff.; *Beiträge zur richtigen Würdigung der Evangelien*, p. 296 ff.).—The correct view is given, *e.g.*, by Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. 512 ff.; Gumpach, *Ueber den altjüdischen Kalendar*, pp. 117 ff., 137 ff.; Caspari, *Chronological and Geographical Introduction to the Life of Jesus Christ*, p. 10 f.

[4] Book of Enoch, 78. 15–16, in Dillmann's translation: "And for three months he makes 30 days his period, and for three months he makes his period 29 days, in which he performs his waning in the first period and in the first door in 167 days. And in the period of his waxing he appears for three months every thirty days, and for three months every nine and twenty days."

[5] Galen, *Opp.* ed. Kühn, t. xvii. p. 23: τοὺς δύο μῆνας ἡμερῶν γινομένους θ' καὶ ν' τέμνουσιν εἰς ἄνισα μέρη, τὸν μὲν ἕτερον αὐτῶν λ' ἡμερῶν ἐργαζόμενοι, τὸν δ' ἕτερον θ' καὶ κ'. See the passage given at length in Greek and English in Caspari, *Chronological and Geographical Introduction to the Life of Jesus Christ*, p. 9.

Passover, in Ab on account of the Fast, in Elul on account of the New Year, in Tizri on account of the arrangement of the feast days of that month, the Day of Atonement, and the Feast of Tabernacles; in Chisleu on account of the feast of the Dedication of the Temple, in Adar on account of the feast of Purim, and so long as the temple stood, in Adar also on account of the little Passover.[6] Since, naturally, it was known pretty accurately when the appearing of the new moon was to be expected, every effort would be made so as to fix the date wherever possible upon the right day. But the duration of the particular months was not fixed. This is confirmed especially by the following two passages from the Mishna: (1) *Arachin* iii. 7: "If one should have any apprehension in regard to the New Year feast, lest the month Elul should be fixed at 30 days, he may," etc.[6a] (2) *Arachin* ii. 2: "In one year there are, at least, four months of thirty days, and of these there have not hitherto been more than eight." From the former passage it appears that it was by no means established *à priori* whether a month should have 29 or 30 days; and the latter passage shows how uncertain this empirical method left the calendar. Even in the time of the Mishna, the second Christian century, it was still a possible contingency that a year might come in which only four months had each 30 days, and again another in which there might be eight such months. Thus the length of the lunar year might vary from 352 days to 356 days, while in actual fact it can only oscillate between 354 and 355 days.[7]

[6] Compare, generally, *Rosh hashana* i. 3 ff., ii. throughout, iii. 1, iv. 4. See, further, especially Zuckermann, *Materialien zur Entwickelung der altjüdischen Zeitrechnung im Talmud* (1882), pp. 1–39.—According to *Sanhedrin* i. 2 (compare *Rosh hashana* ii. 9, iii. 1), for the declaring of the new moon and of the intercalary year a court of three men was sufficient, but it is not said that as a rule it was determined by such a tribunal.

[6a] That the later rule, according to which Elul must always have 29 days, did not then exist, is also seen from *Shebiith* x. 2.

[7] In the context of the passage quoted (*Arachin* ii. 2), with reference to

2. The system of intercalation was not fixed even in the second century after Christ. Julius Africanus indeed says that the Jews as well as the Greeks intercalated three months in every eight years;[8] and we have no reason for doubting this statement in regard to the time of Julius Africanus, in the first half of the third Christian century, although it is uncertain so far as the Greeks are concerned, for the majority of them had long adopted the more exact cycle of nineteen years. Also for the time of Jesus Christ this statement may be regarded as generally valid, since the thrice repeated intercalation in the course of eight years would naturally result from a purely empirical procedure. But the knowledge of this eight years' cycle is certainly even in the astronomical pieces in the Book of Enoch and the Book of Jubilees (which may be approximately regarded as witnesses for the period of Christ) extremely inexact, and it is not there made use of for the constructing of a regular intercalary system. In the astronomical pieces of the Book of Enoch the erroneous idea is taken up that the moon in the eight years is only about eighteen days behind the sun, for the lunar year is set down at 354 days and the solar year at 364 (Book of Enoch, c. 74. 17; see generally cc. 72–82). The very same inexact conceptions are found also in the Book of Jubilees, c. 6 (Ewald's *Jahrbücher der bibl. Wissensch.* ii. 246). A calendar, built up upon such premises as these, would certainly very soon land

matters of the most diverse description, are laid down what might be the minimum and maximum limits. The variation spoken of in the length of the year has therefore actually been observed and, even in the age of the Mishna, was regarded as a possible occurrence.—To the authorities of the Babylonian Talmud, indeed, the statement did appear so remarkable that attempts were made to explain it away. See *bab. Arachin* 8b–9a; Zuckermann, *Materialien*, p. 64 f.

[8] Jul. Africanus in Eusebius, *Demonstratio evangelica*, viii. p. 390 = Syncell. ed. Dindorf, i. 611 = Routh, *Reliquiae sacrae*, ii. 302: Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι τρεῖς μῆνας ἐμβολίμους ἔτεσιν ὀκτὼ μαρεμβάλλουσιν (Latin also in Jerome, Comment. in Daniel ix. 24 sqq., *Opp.* ed. Vallarsi, v. 683 sq.).

in serious error. It was fortunate therefore that in actual practice it was disregarded, and the intercalation carried out without reference to any preconceived theory on the basis of an empirical observation made on each separate occasion. That this was still the case in the times of the Mishna is proved from the two following passages:—(1) *Megillah* i. 4: "If one has read the Megillah (the Book of Esther for the celebration of the feast of Purim) in the first Adar, and the year is then declared to be an intercalary year, he must read it again in the second or intercalary Adar." (2) *Edujoth* vii. 7: "R. Joshua and R. Papias testified that the year might be declared an intercalary year at any time during the month Adar, for previously this could be done only to the feast of Purim. These same testified that one might conditionally declare the year an intercalary year. When on one occasion Rabban Gamaliel was on a journey in order to obtain a concession from the governor of Syria, and remained long away, the year was pronounced an intercalary year under the reservation that the decision would stand only if Rabban Gamaliel were satisfied. And when he arrived he was satisfied, and so it was an intercalary year." Both passages are so clear that they need no further commentary. Yet quite at the close of the year, in the month Adar, even after the feast of Purim had been celebrated, the decision might be arrived at whether or not a month was to be intercalated. There is absolutely no trace of any previous calculation.[8a]

The rule, according to which it was determined whether to intercalate or not, was very simple. It required that care

[8a] All that is said in *Tosephta Sanhedrin* ii., *bab. Sanhedrin* 11ᵃ–12ᵃ, and elsewhere regarding the grounds for intercalation, and regarding the procedure carried on in connection therewith, goes to confirm what is stated above. It may therefore be accepted as certain that the decision as to whether there should be intercalation or not, was made on each separate occasion in the course of the year according to the principles stated. For the more important details, see below at note 9ᵃ.

should be taken that the Passover festival, to be celebrated at the full moon in Nisan (14th Nisan), should in any case fall after the vernal equinox (*μετὰ ἰσημερίαν ἐαρινήν*), when the sun stood in the sign *Aries*. This explanation is characterized by Anatolius in the fragment of decided importance in relation to the history of the Jewish calendar given in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* vii. 32. 16–19, as the view in which all Jewish authorities are agreed, pre-eminently as that of Aristobulus, the celebrated Jewish philosopher of the time of Ptolemy Philometor (not Philadelphus, as Anatolius erroneously says). With this also agree the statements of Philo and Josephus.[9] If one therefore toward the close of the year noticed that the Passover would fall before the vernal equinox, the intercalation of a month before Nisan would have to be resorted to.[9a] The intercalated month was called, like the last month of the year, Adar.

[9] Philo, *De Septenario*, § 19 (Mangey, ii. 293); *Quaestiones et solut. in Exodum*, i. § 1 (Richter, vii. 262 sq.). Compare also *Vita Mosis*, iii. 29 (Mangey, ii. 169), *de decalogo*, § 30 (Mangey, ii. 206); Josephus, *Antiq.* iii. 10. 5: *ἐν χριῷ τοῦ ἡλίου καθεστῶτος.*

[9a] For yet other reasons for intercalation see especially *Tosephta Sanhedrin* c. ii., *bab Sanhedrin* 11ᵃ–12ᵃ; with reference to these: Zuckermann, *Materialen zur Entwickelung der altjüdischen Zeitrechnung im Talmud* (1882), pp. 39–45.—The most remarkable passage is the following: "For three reasons a year may be pronounced an intercalary year: Because of the ripeness of the grain [if this has not occurred at the proper season], and on account of the fruit trees [if these have not ripened at the right season], and on account of the course of the sun [if the sun at the Passover has not yet come into the sign *Aries*]. Only if two of these reasons combine may one conclude for intercalation, but not for one of these alone." —"Intercalation is not dependent on the age of the he-goats or lambs or pigeons. Yet this is to be regarded as a supplementary ground [*i.e.* if only one of the above three chief reasons is forthcoming, all these minor reasons may be read in order to eke it out]." . . . "Thus once Rabban Gamaliel caused it to be written to the communities in Babylon and Media: Since the pigeons are still too feeble and the lambs still too young, and the time of harvest has not yet come, I and my colleagues have found it necessary to add thirty days to the year."—We cannot be wrong, then, if for the time of Christ we consider the reason that proved decisive to be that drawn from the course of the sun.

They were distinguished respectively as אֲדָר הָרִאשׁוֹן and אֲדָר הַשֵּׁנִי (first and second Adar).

And yet, primitive as this calendar was, it had this great advantage, that serious and persistent inaccuracies, such as in the course of the year inevitably crept into a calendar calculated upon an incorrect basis, were avoided.—The very complicated later Jewish calendar, calculated upon the nineteen years' cycle, is said to have been introduced by the patriarch Hillel in the fourth century after Christ. Although this is not witnessed to with absolute certainty, it is not improbable (Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. 569 ff.).[9b]

With reference to the various beginnings of years in spring or in harvest, see vol. i. of the present work, p. 37.

The literature on the Jewish calendar, especially in its later form, is very extensive. A systematic exposition was given as early as the twelfth century by Maimonides in the passage treating of "the celebration of the New Moon" in his great work *Jad Ha-chasaka* or Mishne Thora (compare: Maimonides' *Kiddusch Hachodesch*, translated and explained by Ed. Mahler,

[9b] On the basis of some coins of the Arsacidae, in which the years 287, 317, and 390 of the *Seleucid. æra* are referred to as intercalary years, Theodor Reinach has proved in a convincing manner that in the kingdom of the Arsacidae, that is, in Babylon, even in the first century before Christ and in the first century after Christ, the Greek calendar, calculated according to the nineteen years' cycle, was in use. But since Julius Africanus in the passage above referred to speaks of the eight years' cycle as that used "by Gentiles and Jews," it would seem that that cycle, even in the third Christian century, prevailed in Palestine and Syria (so far as the solar year had not yet been adopted). From this, too, is confirmed what otherwise is probable, that the later Jewish calendar was constructed, not by the Palestinian, but by the Babylonian Jews. See Theodor Reinach, "Le calendrier des Grecs de Babylonie et les origines du calendrier juif" (*Revue des études juives*, t. xviii. 1889, pp. 90–94). As Rabbis who had specially interested themselves in matters connected with the calendar, the Babylonians Mar Samuel in Nehardea and Rabbi Adda bar Ahaba in Sura are specially named, both in the third century after Christ. The latter had an exact acquaintance with the nineteen years' cycle in the improved form given it by Hipparchus in the second century before Christ (Ideler, i. 574 f.). The Palestinian Hillel must therefore have received the incentive to his work from the Babylonians.

Wien 1889). Various monographs are collected by Ugolini in his *Thesaurus antiquitatum sacrarum*, t. xvii. (Nic. Mülleri *Annus Judaeorum luna-solaris et Turc-Arabum mere lunaris*; Seldeni *Diss. de anno civili Judaeorum*; Maimonidis, *De sanctificatione novilunii, cum versione Latina de Veilii.* Christ. Langhansen, *De mense veterum Hebraeorum lunari*).—Of more recent date, especially: Ideler, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, Bd. i. pp. 477–583; Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis of the Four Gospels*, pp. 401–436; *Beiträge zur richtigen Würdigung der Evangelien und der evangelischen Geschichte* (1869), pp. 290–321; Seyffarth, *Chronologia sacra* (1846), pp. 26–80 (believes that the Jewish year down to A.D. 200 was a solar year!); De Wette, *Lehrbuch der hebräisch-jüdischen Archäologie*, 4 Aufl. 1864, § 178–179; Gumpach, *Ueber den altjüdischen Kalender zunächst in seiner Beziehung zur neutestamentlichen Geschichte*, Brüssel 1848; Saalschütz, *Das mosaische Recht*, Bd. i. 1853, pp. 396–406; Lewisohn, *Geschichte und das System des jüdischen Kalenderwesens*, Leipzig, 1856 (= *Schriften herausgeg. vom Institute zur Förderung der israelit. Literatur, erstes Jahr*, 1855–1856); Caspari, *Chronological and Geographical Introduction to the Life of Jesus Christ*, pp. 2–19; Schwarz, *Der jüdische Kalender historisch und astronomisch untersucht*, 1872; Dillmann, "Ueber das Kalenderwesen der Israeliten vor dem babylonischen Exil" (*Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1881, pp. 914–935); Zuckermann, *Materialien zur Entwickelung der altjüdischen Zeitrechnung im Talmud*, 1882 (gathers together the Talmudic deliverances on matters connected with the calendar); Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie für Bibel und Talmud*, Abth. ii. 1883, pp. 608–628, art. "Kalender;" Mémain, *La connaissance des temps évangéliques*, Paris 1886, pp. 39–43, 377–445, 481 ff.; Isidore Loeb, *Tables du calendrier juif depuis l'ère chrétienne jusqu' au XXX siècle, avec la concordance des dates juives et des dates chrétiennes et une méthode nouvelle pour calculer ces tables*, Paris 1886; Mahler, *Chronologische Vergleichungs-Tabellen, nebst einer Anleitung zu den Grundzügen der Chronologie*, 2 Heft: *Die Ziet- und Festrechnung der Juden*, Wien 1889; also the articles "Jahr" and "Monate" in the dictionaries of Winer, Schenkel, and Riehm, and in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 2 Aufl. vi. 495–498, article "Jar" by Leyrer.

Since the Jewish year has sometimes twelve, sometimes thirteen months, it is evident that its months can only be made approximately to correspond to those of the Julian

calendar.—The Macedonian names of the months came to be used in Syria from the beginning of the Seleucid domination (Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. 397). They originally also indicated lunar months. But from the time of Julius Caesar's reform of the calendar they were employed in Syria and Phoenicia to indicate the twelve months of the solar year, which is, speaking generally, identical with the Julian; therefore its several months do not exactly correspond with those of the Julian, since their beginnings are otherwise determined, and indeed were different in different large cities (Ideler, i. 433). It was not till a later period that the Julian months came to be named in Syria by Macedonian names (Ideler, i. 429 ff.).—Besides the Macedonian names, the old native Syrian names (which were for the most part identical with the Jewish) were also used; and it may safely be assumed that their use was in strict conformity with that of the Macedonian names. Thus, *e.g.*, the Syrian date on the inscriptions at Palmyra exactly corresponds to the Macedonian (24 Tebeth = 24 Audynäus, 21 Adar = 21 Dystros; see De Vogüé, *Inscriptions*, n. 123[a], iii. 124 = Le Bas and Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines*, t. iii. 2, n. 2571[b], 2627). The same is true of the later Syrian calendar, where the Syrian as well as the Macedonian names indicate simply the months of the Julian calendar.[10]

Under these circumstances it may be asked what Josephus means when he makes use of the Macedonian names of the months, as he frequently does in his *History of the Jewish War*. Ordinarily he uses them as perfectly parallel to the Jewish, precisely in the same way as is done in the inscriptions at Palmyra (Nisan = Xanthicus, Ijjar = Artemisius, Ab = Lous, Tizri = Hyperberetaeus, Marcheshwan = Dios, etc.; the

[10] That this was already the case on the inscriptions at Palmyra cannot be proved. The doubts which Nöldeke expresses in this connection (*Zeitschrift der DMG.* xxxix. 1885, p. 339) are very well founded.

proofs for this are given above at p. 364 f.; for the Palmyrene inscriptions see the collection in Le Bas and Waddington, n. 2571[b]). But does he mean precisely the Jewish months when he uses the Macedonian names? In many cases undoubtedly he does so. (1) The Jewish Passover was observed on the 14th Xanthicus (*Antiq.* iii. 10. 5; *Wars of the Jews*, v. 3. 1). (2) In the time of Antiochus Epiphanes the temple was desecrated and reconsecrated on 25th Apellaios (*Antiq.* xii. 5. 4, 7. 6; comp. 1 Macc. i. 59, iv. 52. (3) During the siege of Titus the daily morning and evening sacrifice was stopped on 17th Panemos (*Wars of the Jews*, vi. 2. 1); according to Mishna, *Taanith* iv. 6, however, this happened on 17th Thammuz. (4) The destruction of the temple of Nebuchadnezzar took place on the 10th Loos (*Wars of the Jews*, vi. 4. 5); according to Jer. lii. 12, on the 10th Ab. On the ground of these facts ancient and modern investigators have assumed that Josephus invariably intends when using the Macedonian names of the month to make the dates correspond with the Jewish months.[10a] But against this view, after the example of Scaliger, Baronius, and Usher, O. A. Hoffmann has recently advanced objections.[11] He specially urges the point that Josephus was scarcely in a position (and if he had been, would not certainly have taken the trouble) to reckon the dates which had been transmitted to him according to another calendar, in accordance with the Jewish calendar. He just followed the calendar which his authorities followed. But in regard to the numerous dates in the *Wars of the Jews*, Hoffmann (p. 16) believes that

[10a] So Noris, *Annus et epochae Syromacedonum*, i. 3rd ed. Lips. p. 44 sqq.; Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. 400–402; Anger, *De temporum in Actis apostolorum ratione*, p. 16 sq.; Wieseler, *Chronologie Synopse*, p. 448; Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, iii. 357 sq.; Champagny, *Rome et la Judée*, (2nd ed. 1865), ii. 349 sqq.

[11] Otto Adalb. Hoffmann, *De imperatoris Titi temporibus recte definiendis* (Marburg 1883), pp. 4–17.

Josephus must have used, as sources, the official State Papers which he found in the Roman camp. Hence it may be assumed that in these the dates were given in accordance with the Julian calendar, the months of which were simply indicated by Josephus under Macedonian names. The grounds for this opinion are undoubtedly correct. A writer like Josephus would not take the trouble to change the reckoning, but would simply give the dates as he found them. One should not therefore assume right off that in his works all the dates would be according to the same calendar. Many are given undoubtedly according to the Jewish calendar, others according to the Roman.[12] But whether the dates in the *Wars of the Jews* are for the most part derived from the official Roman State Papers, seems to me more than doubtful. It is not correct to say, as Hoffmann does (p. 15), that Josephus almost exclusively gives precise dates for the enterprise of the Romans, but not for the internal events of Jewish history. A thorough

[12] In accordance with the Roman calendar Josephus apparently gives, *e.g.*, the periods of the reigns of the Emperors Galba, Otho, Vitellius. The dates which come into consideration (according to the careful statement of Knaake in *Zeitschrift für luth. Theol.* 1871, pp. 230–235) are the following: Nero, † 9 June 68; Galba, † 15 January 69; Otho, † 16 April 69; Vitellius, † 20 December 69. But according to Josephus, Galba reigned 7 months and 7 days (*Wars of the Jews*, iv. 9. 2); Otho, 3 months and 2 days (*Wars of the Jews*, iv. 9. 9); Vitellius, 8 months and 5 days (*Wars of the Jews*, iv. 11. 4). If we count in the day of the accession and the day of death, this agrees exactly with the above dates of the Julian calendar, which therefore Josephus here follows. So also Knaake, *Zeitschrift für luth. Theol.* 1871, p. 244, unsuccessfully contested by Wieseler, *Zeitschrift für luth. Theol.* 1872, p. 55 ff.—Josephus seems to give the day of Vitellius' death according to the calendar of Tyre. While according to the Julian calendar it fell upon 20 December, Josephus sets it down upon 3 Apellaios (*Wars of the Jews*, iv. 11. 4). But this in the Tyrian calendar corresponds to the 20 December in the Julian. Josephus may therefore be supposed here to follow some Phoenician authority. Compare Noris, *Annus et epochae Syromacedonum*, i. 3, p. 60 sq. ed. Lips.; Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. 436; Knaake, *Zeitschrift*, p. 244; O. A. Hoffmann, *De imperatoris Titi*, p. 6.

examination of the facts communicated in our exposition (§ 20) plainly shows that among the details circumstantially related are many that refer purely to the internal affairs of the Jews, whereas on the other hand the exact statements about the doings of the Romans, especially of that period, become more numerous when Josephus was first a prisoner and subsequently on his parole in the Roman camp. He had therefore personal knowledge of these things. Indeed, in his vindication of the credibility of his exposition he refers simply to his own memoranda of these occurrences which he had made for himself and not to Roman official documents (*Treatise against Apion*, i. 9: *τὰ κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ῥωμαίων ὁρῶν ἐπιμελῶς ἀνέγραφον*). Evidently, therefore, he did not use these official papers. But that he had made his memoranda according to the Jewish calendar is probable, partly from the internal probability of the matter, partly from the circumstance that particular dates are given undoubtedly according to the Jewish calendar; so *Wars of the Jews*, vi. 2. 1 (see above, p. 242), and *Wars of the Jews*, vi. 4. 1–5 (see above, p. 243 f.). The oft recurring formula, *Πανέμου νουμηνίᾳ* (*Wars of the Jews*, iii. 7. 36, v. 13. 7, vi. 1. 3), cannot indeed be used as a proof that the months of Josephus actually began with the new moon. For in later usage *νουμηνίᾳ* signifies generally the first day of the month, even when, according to the calendar employed, the months did not begin with the new moon, as *e.g.* in the Roman. Compare Dio Cassius, lx. 5: *τῇ τοῦ Αὐγούστου νουμηνίᾳ*; Plutarch, *Galba*, 22: *ἡ νουμηνία τοῦ πρώρτου μηνός, ἣν καλάνδας Ἰανουαρίας καλοῦσι*; Steph. *Thesaurus*, *s.v.*

APPENDIX IV.

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THE JEWISH SHEKEL AND COINS OF THE REBELLION.

THE extant coins with old Hebrew writing may be arranged in three groups: (1) The coins of the Asmonean high priests and princes which are furnished with names, and therefore are most easily determined; (2) the silver shekel and half-shekel: (3) the "Coins of Freedom," which with manifold variations celebrate the emancipation (*g'ulla* or *cheruth*) of Israel or Jerusalem or Sion. The most perfect agreement prevails among numismatists with reference to the first group: a pretty general agreement also prevails with reference to the second, because they are assigned by the majority of numismatists to the times of Simon the Maccabee. Most diverse are the views entertained with reference to the third group. Since the placing and determining of the first group is relatively easy and certain, it will be found that we have already communicated all that is necessary regarding it in our historical exposition. A more special investigation is required in reference to the coins of the second and third groups. It must be shown by a systematic examination of all the particulars, that with regard to the third group a much higher degree of certainty may be reached than in regard to the second, that therefore the measure of the present consensus stands in inverse ratio to the degree of scientific certainty attainable.

1. The Shekel.

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Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881, pp. 67–71, where the material is most fully given.
Reinach, "Actes et conférences de la société des études juives," 1877 (Supplement to *Revue des études juives*, 1887), p. cciii sqq. Separate reprint, *Les monnaies juives*, Paris 1887, p. 42 sqq.

The silver shekel and half-shekel are equal in weight to the Greek tetradrachmae and the double drachmae minted in the Phoenician towns, and afford us a point of connection for estimating the values of Phoenician-Hebrew coins.[1] The superscription runs ירושלם קדשה or ירושלים הקדושה, on the other side שקל ישראל (shekel of Israel); on the half-shekels:

[1] Compare on the value of the shekel, especially: Brandis, *Das Münz-, Mass- und Gewichtswesen in Vorderasien* (1866), pp. 55 ff., 94 ff., 102 ff.; Hultsch, *Griechische und römische Metrologie* (2 Bearbeit. 1882), pp. 456 ff., 602 ff.; Merzbacher, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Bd. v. 1878, pp. 151 ff., 171 ff., 173 f.; Révillout, "Note sur les plus anciennes monnaies hébraïques" (*Annuaire de la Société française de Numismatique*, t. viii. 1884, pp. 113–146 [revised reprint from the *Revue Égyptologique*]).

חצי השקל (half-shekel). The whole as well as the half-shekels have, besides the indication of the weight, a number, usually accompanied with an ש = שנת, a year; *e.g.* שב = year II. There are extant examples of both coins from the years א, ב, ג ד (I., II., III., IV.); of the whole shekel there is also an example of שה, year V. As might be expected, we have no portrait profiles, but only simple symbols, the significance of which is still doubtful (a cup and branch of lilies?).—Since upon those coins of the "holy Jerusalem" there is no trace of any personal name, it is extremely difficult to determine their age. But it should first of all be laid down as certain that they cannot have been minted between B.C. 135 and A.D. 66. For the Asmoneans, since John Hyrcanus, B.C. 135, minted coins bearing their own names, as did also Herod and his sons. It is also clear that these coins could not have been struck under the Roman procurators, for they presuppose the political independence of Jerusalem. They can therefore be assigned only to the time before B.C. 135 or after A.D. 66. Under the latter alternative they can be referred only to the period of the war A.D. 66–70; for from the time of the Hadrian war, A.D. 132–135, we have coins of quite another sort. Ewald was the first (*Göttinger "Nachrichten,"* 1855, p. 109 ff.) to argue in favour of the years 66–70 as the date of the minting of the shekels; and in the first edition of this work, p. 365 f., I adopted his view. Among numismatists, however, this theory is now maintained only by Theód. Reinach (1887) and Imhoof-Blumer (in epistolary correspondence with myself). All the others declare this impossible, in consequence of the antiquated style, and almost unanimously place these shekels in the time of Simon the Maccabee, B.C. 142–135. De Saulcy puts them even farther back, assigning them first of all, in *Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaïque*, 1854, to the time of Alexander the Great, subsequently, in the *Étude chronologique des livres d'Esdras et*

de Néhémie, 1868 (which has not been accessible to me), and in the *Revue archéologique*, 1872, to the time of Ezra.—In determining this question we must take into account: (1) Palaeographical, (2) Historical, (3) Numismatical arguments.

1. We may set aside, first of all, the palaeographical, because they scarcely yield any result. The character of the writing is the so-called Phoenician or old Hebraic. But this writing for monumental purposes, such as inscriptions and coins, changed so little during the period coming under consideration, that from this nothing can be gained to help in determining our question. The character of the writing on the coins fits equally the assigning of them to the Maccabean age and to a very much later period, as, upon inquiry, Euting also has assured me, one of the highest authorities on Semitic palaeography.

2. On historical grounds the shekel can hardly have been minted in the Persian and Greek age prior to the winning of Jewish independence by Simon the Maccabee. For according to all that we know, the Jews did not, either in the Persian or in the Greek age, possess such a degree of political independence as is assumed in an autonomous minting of money of their own. This would have been distinctly impossible in the age of Alexander, from the fact that under him in Phoenicia only royal money was minted (so, *e.g.*, in Ascalon, Ptolemais, Damascus; see Div. II. vol. i. pp. 74, 91, 97).[2] All the more perfectly do they now seem to suit the time of Simon the Maccabee. Under him "the yoke of the heathen was taken away from Israel," and expression was given to this fact. by the introduction of a native reckoning of their own, according to the years of Simon (1 Macc. xiii. 41, 42; compare also p. 256). May it not be just this era

[2] Against placing the shekel in the time of Ezra or Alexander the Great, see especially the comprehensive treatise of Merzbacher, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Bd. v. 1878, p. 151 ff.

that is meant on the shekels? This is indeed what is assumed by most numismatists. But on nearer consideration certain not inconsiderable difficulties arise. The era of Simon begins in the year 170 of the Seleucid era = B.C. 143–142 (1 Macc. xiii. 41 f.); but Simon did not die before the year 177 of the Seleucid era = B.C. 136–135 (1 Macc. xvi. 14). One should therefore expect on the shekels the year numbers I.–VII., whereas even of the year V. we have only one example, but no single example for any later years. Merzbacher, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, v. 292 ff., has therefore made the attempt to place the era of Simon about two years later. That this expedient is quite inadmissible, I think I have succeeded in proving on page 259. It would also involve this further consequence, that the minting of the shekels in a very remarkable manner was suddenly broken off with Simon, and in their place immediately under Simon's successor, John Hyrcanus, a minting of quite another kind was introduced, bearing the name of the reigning high priest. If this be not impossible, it is at least very singular. On the other hand, the hypothesis that the shekels were minted during the period of the rebellion A.D. 66–70, is beset by no kind of historical difficulties. It must therefore have the preference, if no numismatic considerations tell against it.

3. The decision from the numismatic standpoint is difficult for this reason, that the minting is of a rude or at least peculiar description, and therefore hard to classify. This explains the fact that even experienced numismatists differ from one another in their judgments. Theód. Reinach has given no convincing proof for the date of A.D. 66–70 as adopted by him. By his publication Imhoof-Blumer has been driven to an examination of the facts of the case, which has led him to accept the theory of Reinach. The grounds which he has been good enough in correspondence to communicate to me are the following: "The small diameter of the shekel and

half-shekel, and their border, do not correspond to the Syrian and Phoenician mintings of the middle of the second century before Christ nearly so well as to the silver coins minted in those districts bearing the images of Nero, Agrippina, and Vespasian, of which there are many tolerably thick examples of about 14 and 7 grs. in weight. Upon a question of style no result can be drawn from the extremely slovenly and rude types referred to, but merely on a question of technology, and in this respect they have no resemblance to the broad coins of the Syrian kings Antichus VI., Tryphon, Antiochus VII.," etc. Against this theory may be quoted the opinions of all other numismatists of the time, who pronounce it impossible, on account of the ancient appearance of the shekels, that they can be assigned to so late an age. Also it has been emphatically declared against the above statement, *e.g.* by Sallet in an admirable communication which he has made to me, that the prevailing view must be maintained. "The antique character of the coins is so clearly stamped, the thickness of the piece of metal so thoroughly in accordance with the antique coins minted long before Christ, the stamp and the writing are of so decidedly antique a character, that the coins must be placed in the time of the Maccabees." They are "distinctly distinguishable" from the coins of the later rebellion. In presence of this diversity of opinion among the best authorities, no one not an expert can do anything but conclude with the confession: *adhuc sub judice lis est.*

2. The Coins of the Rebellion.

Literature.

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LEVY, *Geschichte der jüdischen Munzen* (1862), pp. 83-131.
MADDEN, *History of Jewish Coinage* (1864), pp. 154–182, 198–210.
CAVEDONI in Grote's *Münzstudien*, v. 1867, pp. 29–37.
DE SAULCY, *Revue Numismatique*, 1865, pp. 29–55.
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SALLET, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Bd. v. 1878, pp. 110–114.
RENAN, *L'église chrétienne* (1879), pp. 546–551.
MADDEN, *Coins of the Jews* (1881), pp. 188–206, 230–246.
STICKEL, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, vii. 1884, pp. 212, 214.
GRÄTZ, *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1887, pp. 145–176 (English translation in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1888).
REINACH (THÉOD.), *Revue des études juives*, t. xv. 1887, pp. 56–61.
REINACH (THÉOD.), *Actes et conférences de la société des études juives*, 1887 (*Suppl.* to *Revue des études juives*, 1887), pp. cciii–ccxvi.— In separate reprint (*Les monnaies juives*, Paris 1887), pp. 42–67.
GRÄTZ, *Revue des études juives*, t. xvi. 1888, pp. 161–169; t. xviii. 1889, pp. 301–304.
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REINACH (THÉOD.), *Revue des études juives*, t. xvii. 1888, pp. 42–45; t. xviii. 1889, pp. 304–306.

The coins of the rebellion belong to the following varieties. The material is adequately presented by De Saulcy, *Recherches sur la Numismatique*, 1854; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, 1864; *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1875; Merzbacher, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, iv. 1887; most fully in Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881.

1. *Ligullath Zion*, the Deliverance of Zion.

Obv. לגאלת ציון, *ligullath Zion.*

Rev. שנת ארבע, year IV.

or, שנת ארבע חצי, year IV., a half.

or, שנת ארבע רבע, year IV., a quarter.

All these are copper coins of various sizes, with Jewish emblems.

See De Saulcy, *Recherches sur la Numismatique*, p. 20; Cavedoni, *Biblische Numismatik*, ii. 11 f.; Ewald, *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1855, p. 114; Levy, *Geschichte*, p. 44; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, p. 47; Garrucci, *Dissertazioni*, ii. 32, 38; Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1866, pp. 48–63 (very complete in reference to the date, against Garrucci); Merzbacher, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, i. 222, iv. 364; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 71 sq.

2. *Chêruth Zion*, the Emancipation of Zion.

Obv. חרות ציון, *chêruth Zion.*

Rev. שנת שתים, year II.

or, שנת שלוש, year III.

Small copper coins with Jewish emblems of which numerous examples are extant (Sallet, *Zeitschrift*, v. 110).

See De Saulcy, *Recherches*, p. 154; Cavedoni, *Biblische Numismatik*, ii. 53 f.; Ewald, *Gött. Nach.* 1855, p. 114; Levy, *Geschichte*, p. 100; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, p. 180; De Saulcy, *Revue Numismatique*, 1865, p. 29 sq.; Garrucci, *Dissertazioni*, ii. 38; Merzbacher, *Zeitschrift*, i. 223, iv. 364 f.; Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1875, p. 320 sq.; *Coins of the Jews*, p. 206.

3. Year I. *ligullath Israel*, of the Emancipation of Israel.

Obv. אלעזר הכהן, Eleasar the priest.

Rev. שנת אחת לגאלת ישראל, year I. *ligullath Israel.*

Obv. אלעזר הכהן, Eleasar the priest.

Rev. שמעון, Simon.

Obv. ירושלם, Jerusalem.

Rev. שנת אחת לגאלת ישראל, year I. *ligullath Israel.*

Obv. שמעון נשיא ישראל, Simon prince of Israel.

Rev. שנת אחת לגאלת ישראל, year I. *ligullath Israel.*

These are some of them silver, some of them copper, coins of various sizes and of various types. That they all belong to the same period is proved from the date "Year I. *ligullath Israel,*" which is common to all the three. But the coins bearing the names of Eleasar and Simon cannot be separated from the other Eleasar coins.

See De Saulcy, *Recherches,* pp. 158–160, 165–168; Cavedoni, *Biblische Numismatik,* ii. 55–59; Ewald, *Göttinger Nachr.* 1855, p. 119 ff.; De Vogüé, *Revue Num.* 1860, p. 280 ff. (Eleasar coins communicated for the first time by De Vogüé); Levy, *Geschichte,* pp. 88–92, 97–99; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage,* pp. 161–166, 174–178; De Saulcy, *Revue Num.* 1865, p. 29 sq.; Cavedoni in Grote's *Münzstudien,* v. 29 ff.; Garrucci, ii. 37 sq.; Merzbacher, *Zeitschrift,* i. 229–232, iv. 350–353; Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle,* 1875, pp. 313–320; *Coins of the Jews,* pp. 198–206; Sallet, *Zeitschrift,* v. 110 ff.; Reinach, *Revue des études juives,* xv. 58 sq. (on the Simon-Eleasar coins).

4. Year II. *lechêruth Israel,* the Freedom of Israel.

Obv. שמעון, Simon.

Rev. ש"ב לחרות ישראל, year II. *lechêruth Israel.*

Obv. ירושלם, Jerusalem.

Rev. ש"ב לחרות ישראל, year II. *lechêruth Israel.*

The latter kind are found rarely, the former very frequently, in silver and copper, of various sizes and of various types. In regard to some it is still discernible that they had been made out of Roman coins of Vespasian and Trajan (Sallet, *Zeitschrift,* v. 110–114).

See De Saulcy, *Recherches,* pp. 168–170; Cavedoni, *Biblische Numismatik,* ii. 59 ff.; Ewald, *Göttinger Nachr.* 1855, p. 119 ff.; Levy, *Geschichte,* pp. 93–96, 105–108; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage,* pp. 166–174, 207 sq.; De Saulcy, *Revue Num.* 1865, 29 sq.; Cavedoni in Grote's *Münzstudien,* v. 30 ff.; Garrucci, ii. 34; Merzbacher, *Zeitschrift,* i. 232–236, iv. 353–

356; Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1875, pp. 329–333; *Coins of the Jews*, pp. 241–246; Sallet's *Zeitschrift*, v. 110–114.

5. *Lechêruth Jerushalem*, the Freedom of Jerusalem.

Obv. שמעון, Simon.

Rev. לחרות ירושלם, *lechêruth Jerushalem.*

Silver and copper coins of various sizes and with various types. Many are stamped upon Roman coins, especially upon those of Trajan.

See De Saulcy, *Recherches*, pp. 160–165; Cavedoni, *Biblische Numismatik*, ii. 56–59; Ewald, *Göttinger Nachr.* 1885, p. 119 ff.; Levy, *Geschichte*, pp. 93–96, 105–108; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 166–174, 203–210; De Saulcy, *Revue Num.* 1865, p. 29 sqq.; Cavedoni in Grote's *Münzstudien*, v. 30 ff.; Garrucci, ii. 33 sq.; Merzbacher, *Zeitschrift*, i. 236 f., iv. 357–363; Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1875, pp. 321–328; *Coins of the Jews*, pp. 233–241; Sallet, *Zeitschrift*, v. 110–114.

The three last-named classes (Year I. *ligullath Israel*, year II. *lechêruth Israel*, *lechêruth Jerushalem* without date) are to be assigned with great probability, the last two indeed with certainty, to the period of the rebellion of Bar-Cochba. In regard to the last class this is admitted by all. The original Roman minting discernible upon many of them, which gives the figure of the Jewish temple, proves that they were struck not earlier than the times of Trajan. But only one period is conceivable in which this minting can have taken place: that of the rebellion under Hadrian. Yet even among the coins of our fourth class, those of the "Year II. *lechêruth Israel*," some examples are met with which are stamped upon coins of Vespasian and Trajan (Sallet, *Zeitschrift*, v. 110–114). The same therefore applies to them as to those bearing the device "*lechêruth Jerushalem*." It will, however, be readily admitted that those results hold not only for the copies stamped upon imperial coins, but also for others with similar superscriptions and of similar types,

for the production of which imperial coins were not employed. For it is a singularly arbitrary proceeding to divide among different periods coins of precisely the same impression, only for this reason that on some an original Roman stamp can be traced, while it is not discernible on the others (so Levy, who divides the coins of our fourth as well as of our fifth class between the first and the second revolutions).—While, therefore, these two classes certainly belong to the time of Bar-Cochba, those of "Year I. *ligullath Israel*" may be assigned at least with great probability to the same period. For it is admitted by all competent numismatists that they are in style extremely similar to, quite the same, indeed, as the others.[1] The rabbinical tradition also speaks generally of "coins of Bencosiba," מעות בוזיות or מטבע בן כוזיבא.[2]

The great variety of mintings within a few years, which has been the principal reason for numismatists dividing the coins between the time of the Vespasian and that of the Hadrianic war, is not on closer examination incapable of explanation. During the first year two leaders of the rebellion, "Eleazar the Priest" and "Simon the Prince," minted coins. In the second year Simon seems to have secured to himself the sole sovereignty. Thus it can be easily understood that on

[1] See especially, De Saulcy, *Revue Num.* 1865, p. 29 sqq., and Sallet, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, v. 110 ff.: "To me, as a numismatist, it was never doubtful that De Saulcy's view was right, that, in spite of all arguments to the contrary, all these denarius-like coins, and the tetradrachms as well, must unquestionably have belonged to one period. In the numismatics of antiquity it is without example, and impossible that coins perfectly like one another in style, yea, precisely the same as one another, should be sixty years apart.—Also, Merzbacher says, although he adopts the partition declared by Sallet impossible, *Zeitschrift für Num.* i. 223 f.: "They are little distinguished from one another in style and material, since only a few divergences in type can be pointed out, and therefore should not be too far separated in time from one another."

[2] *Tosephta Maasi scheni*, i. 5; *Jer. Maaser sheni*, i. 2; *bab. Baba kamma*, 97[b]; in Levy, *Geschichte*, p. 127 ff.; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, p. 329 sq.; *Coins of the Jews*, p. 311 sqq.

the coins of the first year he distinguished himself from the priest by the title of "prince," whereas during the second year he no longer found this necessary.[3] Besides Simon and Eleasar the city of Jerusalem also minted coins, and that indeed during the first as well as the second year; but these coins are very rare. Finally, Simon, besides the coins dated according to the era of the freedom of Israel, also stamped some coins without date in commemoration of "the freedom of Jerusalem." Their great variety therefore presents no ground for assigning a portion of them to the time of the war of Vespasian.

In the history of numismatics the classification of our coins has passed through five different stages. 1. The older numismatists, Eckhel, Mionnet, and even Cavedoni, *Biblische Num.* i., put all the kinds together, so far as they were known, along with the shekel coins in the time of Simon the Maccabee. Only one French scholar of the last century, Henrion, recognised the fact that they belonged to the time of Bar-Cochba (see Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 472). But his voice sounded unheard, although even then some copies stamped upon imperial coins were known, which had to be of necessity assigned to the age of Bar-Cochba (Eckhel, iii. 473).—2. De Saulcy in his *Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaïque,* 1854, not only essentially enriched the material, but also gave expression to the correct view that all three kinds belonged to the time of Bar-Cochba.

[3] There is a remarkable coin bearing the inscription, *Obv.* אלעזר הכהן, *Rev.* שמעון. De Vogüé regarded it as the work of a forger, who combined the fronts of an Eleasar and a Simon coin with one another. According to Friedländer's and Sallet's opinion, however, its genuineness is indisputable (*Zeitschrift für Numismatique*, iv. 350, v. 111, note; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 201). Yet more remarkable is a coin published by Reinach in *Revue des études juives*, xv. 56–61, the inscription of which is indeed defective, but has been restored with tolerable certainty as follows:—

Obv. שנת אחת לגאלת ישראל.
Rev. ש"ב לחרות ישראל.

This coin also Reinach declares to be undoubtedly genuine. According to his subtle explanation we have in both coins to recognise *monnaies hybrides, i.e.* coins on which, in consequence of an error in the minting, the inscriptions of two different coins were combined with one another. Such "bastards" are not seldom found among the Roman consular coins.

He was followed by Cavedoni, *Biblische Num.* ii., and Ewald. The latter also assigned to the same period the Eleasar coins first communicated by De Vogüé in 1860 (*History of Israel*, viii. 291).—3. An unfortunate confusion was caused by Levy in 1862 in consequence of his arbitrary division of the coins between the time of Vespasian and that of Hadrian. He assigned to the earlier period not only all coins of "Year I. *ligullath Israel*," but also the greater part of those of the "Year II. *lechêruth Israel*" and "*lechêruth Jerushalem*." But some individual examples of the last two classes are met with in the time of Hadrian, and thus coins of a precisely similar stamp are separated by a period of sixty years. Those who issued coins during the age of Vespasian were the well-known leader of the Zealots, Eleasar, then Simon bar-Giora, and the scribe Simon, son of Gamaliel, upon whom the later Jewish legends bestowed the title of Nasi. On the baselessness of this legend see Div. II. vol. i. p. 183 ff. Neither could Eleasar nor Simon bar-Giora have struck the coins of years I. and II. of freedom, since they did not become party leaders until the later days of the rebellion; Simon bar-Giora only in the third year (*Wars of the Jews*, iv. 9. 12); Eleasar even later, and only for a short time (see above, p. 235). Notwithstanding the more than weak foundation of these hypotheses, Levy obtained at first ardent supporters in Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, 1864, and Cavedoni in Grote's *Münzstudien*, v. Madden's work of 1864 is consequently in those parts extremely ill-suited to afford a clear summary of the history. Also Renan was influenced by Levy, inasmuch as he inclines to ascribe only the superimposition of the stamp to the age of Bar-Cochba (*L'église chrétienne*, p. 546 sq.). Levy's and Madden's views were decidedly combated by Ewald, *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1862, p. 841 ff., and De Saulcy, *Revue Num.* 1865, who held fast by their earlier judgments. Yet even De Saulcy so far paid tribute to the Jewish legends as to understand by "Simon the Prince" the younger Simon, son of Gamaliel, grandson of the earlier one of that name, whose title of Nasi, however, stands historically on as weak a foundation, as in the case of his grandfather. —4. A change for the better, however, was made by Merzbacher when he, although still influenced by Levy, abandoned his arbitrary separation of the coins of our fourth and fifth classes. He put all coins of "Year I. *ligullath Israel*" and all those of "Year II. *lechêruth Israel*" into the Vespasian age, and all those with "*lechêruth Jerushalem*" into the age of Hadrian. All the Simon coins of the age of Vespasian, whether with or without

the title Nasi, he ascribed to Simon, son of Gamaliel. But even before him Garrucci had come one step nearer the truth when he ascribed to the Hadrianic period both the coins of the "Year II. *lechêruth Israel*," and those with "*lechêruth Jerushalem*," and assigned to the age of Vespasian only those of "Year I. *ligullath Israel*." His arguments also soon made an impression upon Madden (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1866, p. 63 sq.), who in his later works (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1875; *Coins of the Jews*, 1881) actually adopted the arrangement of Garrucci. In consequence of this, Madden's masterpiece of 1881 marks an important advance upon the *History* of 1864, not only in regard to the wealth of material, but also in respect of its incomparably superior arrangement. — 5. The researches of Merzbacher, Garrucci, and Madden gradually unravelled the confusion wrought by Levy, and led step by step back again to the original simple views of De Saulcy. Sallet and Reinach have returned completely to these earlier views, for reasons that have been stated above. Although on other points De Saulcy is not always happy in his historical combinations, his numismatical sense has in this particular guided him aright.— Whether the weight of the arguments by which modern numismatists have been constrained to return step by step to De Saulcy's view will survive all attacks the future alone can show. An attempt to produce embarrassment anew has been made by Grätz (*Monatsschrift*, 1887, p. 145 ff.; *Revue des études juives*, xvi. 161 sqq., xviii. 301 sq.; *Geschichte der Juden*, iii. 4 Aufl. 1888, p. 819 ff.). There is scarcely any danger of such an attempt succeeding, for any one who has even a moderate appreciation of scientific method must regard Grätz's speculations as a tissue of groundless surmises. Compare in opposition to him Reinach, *Revue des études juives*, xvii. 42–45, xviii. 304–306.

In regard to the small copper coins communicated under No. 2, with the superscription חרות ציון, *chêruth Zion*, years II. and III., a much greater agreement prevails than in regard to the coins of our third, fourth, and fifth classes. With almost perfect unanimity they are ascribed to the period of the war of Vespasian. This is the opinion not only of De Saulcy, who assigns to the Vespasian period only those coins, but also of Ewald, who places the shekels along with them, and of Levy, Garrucci, and Madden, who join with them a

more or less considerable portion of our Bar-Cochba coins. This latter view is indeed indefensible, because these coins differ from the others essentially in style, so that Merzbacher renounces the attempt to fix their age (*Zeitschrift für Numismatique*, i. 223, iv. 364 f.). But if all the coins of our third, fourth, and fifth classes are placed in the time of Bar-Cochba, it will become probable, owing to the diversity of style, that the coins of the years II. and III. *chêruth Zion* belong to the time of Vespasian. In this case also De Saulcy has hit upon the right explanation.

It is of the utmost importance to determine the coins of the year IV., לגאלת ציון, *ligullath Zion*, communicated under No. 1. Many, on account of the admitted antiquity of their style, class them along with the shekel coins. So De Saulcy, Cavedoni, *Biblische Numismatique*, ii.; Ewald, Levy, Madden, 1864. Yet it is just their style which leads Garrucci to separate them from the shekels, and to place them in the time of Vespasian (*Dissertazioni*, ii. 32); and Madden, after he had, in complete contradiction to Garrucci, maintained their contemporariness with the shekels (*Num. Chron.* 1866, pp. 48–63), at last only holds so far to that opinion that their reference to the Seleucidean period seems to some extent proved (*Coins of the Jews*, p. 73), while even Merzbacher is of opinion that they were not of the same period as the shekels (*Zeitschrift*, i. 222 f.), and are therefore to be reckoned only as ancient coins of an uncertain age (*Zeitschrift*, iv. 364). It is thus difficult to arrive at any decided judgment upon these matters.

APPENDIX V.

PARALLEL YEARS OF THE GREEK, SYRIAN, ROMAN, AND CHRISTIAN ERAS.[1]

THE Olympiad era begins in B.C. 776, and is to be reckoned from 1st July.[2] The Seleucid era begins in B.C. 312, and is to be reckoned from 1st October.[3] The Varronian era *ab Urbe condita* begins in B.C. 753, and counts from the festival of the *Palilia, XI. Cal. Maii* = 21st April.[4] But since writers reckon by the years of office of the consuls, we have to do, not with the starting-point of the Varronian year, but with the point of time at which the consuls entered upon their office. But this took place from A.U. 601, and so continued during almost the whole of the succeeding period, on 1st January.[5] — In the following table the respective years of the Greek, Seleucidean, and Roman eras are paralleled with the same year of the Christian era in which they begin. Thus:

Ol. 151, 1 = 1st July B.C. 176 down to the same day in B.C. 175.

Sel. 137 = 1st October B.C. 176 down to the same day in B.C. 175.

A.U. 578 = 21st April (or 1st January) B.C. 176 down to the same day in B.C. 175.

[1] According to Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, iii. 472 sqq.
[2] Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. 377.
[3] *Ibid.* i. 450–453.
[4] *Ibid.* ii. 47, 150, 163 ff.
[5] *Ibid.* ii. 148 f.

Ol.	Sel.	A.U.	B.C.
1, 1			776
6, 4		1	753
117, 1	1	442	312
. .	.	.	.
151, 1	137	578	176
2	138	579	175
3	139	580	174
4	140	581	173
152, 1	141	582	172
2	142	583	171
3	143	584	170
4	144	585	169
153, 1	145	586	168
2	146	587	167
3	147	588	166
4	148	589	165
154, 1	149	590	164
2	150	591	163
3	151	592	162
4	152	593	161
155, 1	153	594	160
2	154	595	159
3	155	596	158
4	156	597	157
156, 1	157	598	156
2	158	599	155
3	159	600	154
4	160	601	153
157, 1	161	602	152
2	162	603	151
3	163	604	150
4	164	605	149
158, 1	165	606	148
2	166	607	147
3	167	608	146
4	168	609	145
159, 1	169	610	144
159, 2	170	611	143
3	171	612	142
4	172	613	141
160, 1	173	614	140
2	174	615	139
3	175	616	138
4	176	617	137
161, 1	177	618	136
2	178	619	135
3	179	620	134
4	180	621	133
162, 1	181	622	132
2	182	623	131
3	183	624	130
4	184	625	129
163, 1	185	626	128
2	186	627	127
3	187	628	126
4	188	629	125
164, 1	189	630	124
2	190	631	123
3	191	632	122
4	192	633	121
165, 1	193	634	120
2	194	635	119
3	195	636	118
4	196	637	117
166, 1	197	638	116
2	198	639	115
3	199	640	114
4	200	641	113
167, 1	201	642	112
2	202	643	111
3	203	644	110
4	204	645	109
168, 1	205	646	108
2	206	647	107

Ol.	Sel.	A.U.	B.C.
168, 3	207	648	106
4	208	649	105
169, 1	209	650	104
2	210	651	103
3	211	652	102
4	212	653	101
170, 1	213	654	100
2	214	655	99
3	215	656	98
4	216	657	97
171, 1	217	658	96
2	218	659	95
3	219	660	94
4	220	661	93
172, 1	221	662	92
2	222	663	91
3	223	664	90
4	224	665	89
173, 1	225	666	88
2	226	667	87
3	227	668	86
4	228	669	85
174, 1	229	670	84
2	230	671	83
3	231	672	82
4	232	673	81
175, 1	233	674	80
2	234	675	79
3	235	676	78
4	236	677	77
176, 1	237	678	76
2	238	679	75
3	239	680	74
4	240	681	73
177, 1	241	682	72
2	242	683	71
3	243	684	70
4	244	685	69
178, 1	245	686	68
2	246	687	67
3	247	688	66
4	248	689	65
179, 1	249	690	64
2	250	691	63
3	251	692	62
4	252	693	61
180, 1	253	694	60
2	254	695	59
3	255	696	58
4	256	697	57
181, 1	257	698	56
2	258	699	55
3	259	700	54
4	260	701	53
182, 1	261	702	52
2	262	703	51
3	263	704	50
4	264	705	49
183, 1	265	706	48
2	266	707	47
3	267	708	46
4	268	709	45
184, 1	269	710	44
2	270	711	43
3	271	712	42
4	272	713	41
185, 1	273	714	40
2	274	715	39
3	275	716	38
4	276	717	37
186, 1	277	718	36
2	278	719	35
3	279	720	34
4	280	721	33

Ol.	Sel.	A.U.	B.C.
187, 1	281	722	32
2	282	723	31
3	283	724	30
4	284	725	29
188, 1	285	726	28
2	286	727	27
3	287	728	26
4	288	729	25
189, 1	289	730	24
2	290	731	23
3	291	732	22
4	292	733	21
190, 1	293	734	20
2	294	735	19
3	295	736	18
4	296	737	17
191, 1	297	738	16
2	298	739	15
3	299	740	14
4	300	741	13
192, 1	301	742	12
2	302	743	11
3	303	744	10
4	304	745	9
193, 1	305	746	8
2	306	747	7
3	307	748	6
4	308	749	5
194, 1	309	750	4
2	310	751	3
3	311	752	2
4	312	753	1
195, 1	313	754	A.D. 1
2	314	755	2
3	315	756	3
4	316	757	4
196, 1	317	758	5

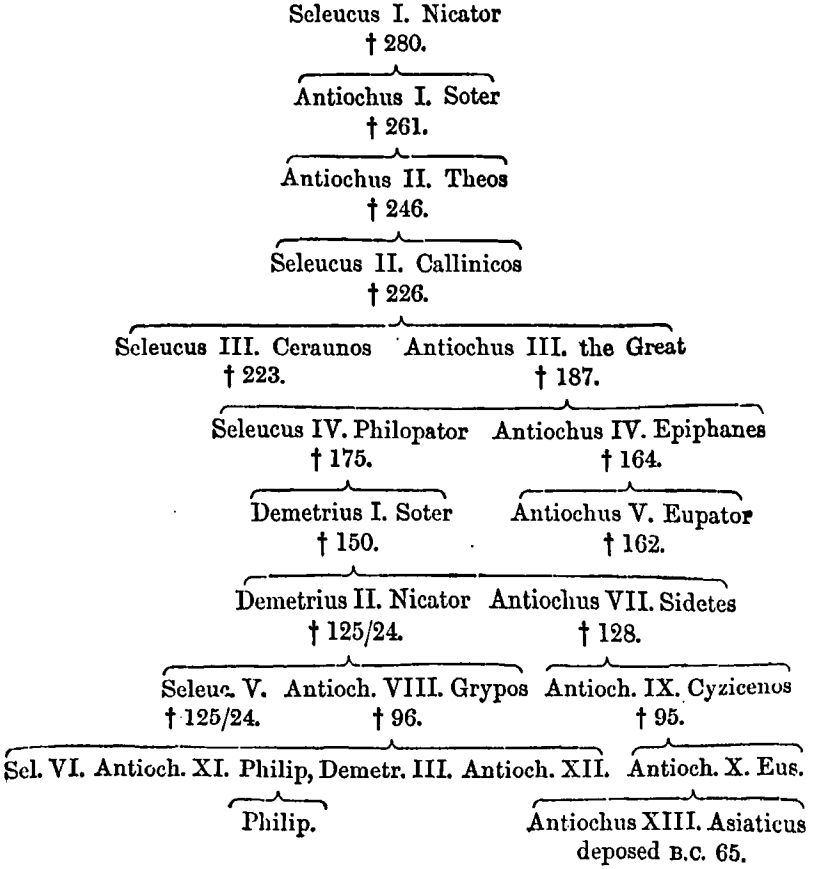
Ol.	Sel.	A.U.	A.D.
196, 2	318	759	6
3	319	760	7
4	320	761	8
197, 1	321	762	9
2	322	763	10
3	323	764	11
4	324	765	12
198, 1	325	766	13
2	326	767	14
3	327	768	15
4	328	769	16
199, 1	329	770	17
2	330	771	18
3	331	772	19
4	332	773	20
200, 1	333	774	21
2	334	775	22
3	335	776	23
4	336	777	24
201, 1	337	778	25
2	338	779	26
3	339	780	27
4	340	781	28
202, 1	341	782	29
2	342	783	30
3	343	784	31
4	344	785	32
203, 1	345	786	33
2	346	787	34
3	347	788	35
4	348	789	36
204, 1	349	790	37
2	350	791	38
3	351	792	39
4	352	793	40
205, 1	353	794	41
2	354	795	42

Ol.	Sel.	A.U.	A.D.
205, 3	355	796	43
4	356	797	44
206, 1	357	798	45
2	358	799	46
3	359	800	47
4	360	801	48
207, 1	361	802	49
2	362	803	50
3	363	804	51
4	364	805	52
208, 1	365	806	53
2	366	807	54
3	367	808	55
4	368	809	56
209, 1	369	810	57
2	370	811	58
3	371	812	59
4	372	813	60
210, 1	373	814	61
2	374	815	62
3	375	816	63
4	376	817	64
211, 1	377	818	65
2	378	819	66
3	379	820	67
4	380	821	68
212, 1	381	822	69
2	382	823	70
3	383	824	71
4	384	825	72
213, 1	385	826	73
2	386	827	74
3	387	828	75
4	388	829	76
214, 1	389	830	77
2	390	831	78
3	391	832	79
214, 4	392	833	80
215, 1	393	834	81
2	394	835	82
3	395	836	83
4	396	837	84
216, 1	397	838	85
2	398	839	86
3	399	840	87
4	400	841	88
217, 1	401	842	89
2	402	843	90
3	403	844	91
4	404	845	92
218, 1	405	846	93
2	406	847	94
3	407	848	95
4	408	849	96
219, 1	409	850	97
2	410	851	98
3	411	852	99
4	412	853	100
220, 1	413	854	101
2	414	855	102
3	415	856	103
4	416	857	104
221, 1	417	858	105
2	418	859	106
3	419	860	107
4	420	861	108
222, 1	421	862	109
2	422	863	110
3	423	864	111
4	424	865	112
223, 1	425	866	113
2	426	867	114
3	427	868	115
4	428	869	116

Ol.	Sel.	A.U.	A.D.	Ol.	Sel.	A.U.	A.D.
224, 1	429	870	117	226, 3	439	880	127
2	430	871	118	4	440	881	128
3	431	872	119	227, 1	441	882	129
4	432	873	120	2	442	883	130
225, 1	433	874	121	3	443	884	131
2	434	875	122	4	444	885	132
3	435	876	123	228, 1	445	886	133
4	436	877	124	2	446	887	134
226, 1	437	878	125	3	447	888	135
2	438	879	126	4	448	889	136

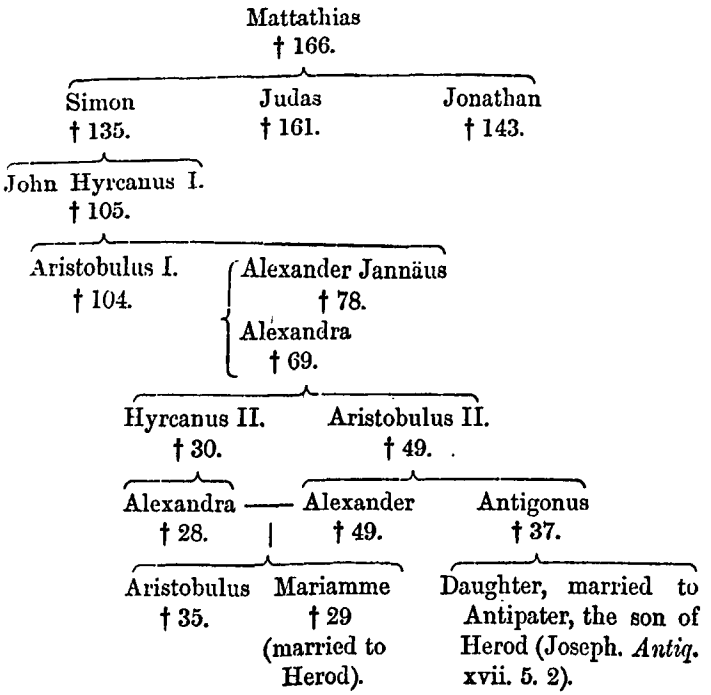
APPENDIX VI.

GENEALOGY OF THE SELEUCIDAE.



APPENDIX VII.

GENEALOGY OF THE ASMONEANS.



APPENDIX VIII.

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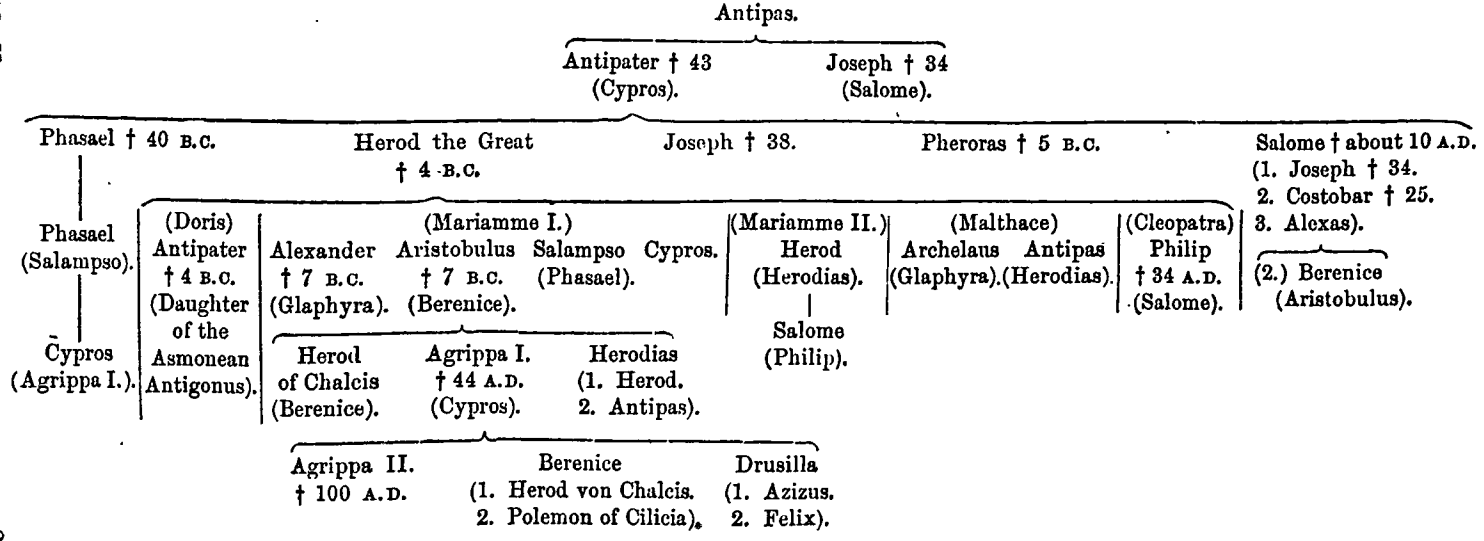
THE HOUSE OF HEROD.*


Antipas.
Antipater † 43 (Cypros).
Joseph † 34 (Salome).
Phasael † 40 B.C.
Herod the Great † 4 B.C.
Joseph † 38.
Pheroras † 5 B.C.
Salome † about 10 A.D.
(1. Joseph † 34.
2. Costobar † 25.
3. Alexas).
(2.) Berenice (Aristobulus).
Phasael (Salampso).
Cypros (Agrippa I.).
(Doris) Antipater † 4 B.C. (Daughter of the Asmonean Antigonus).
(Mariamme I.)
Alexander † 7 B.C. (Glaphyra).
Aristobulus † 7 B.C. (Berenice).
Salampso (Phasael).
Cypros.
Herod of Chalcis (Berenice).
Agrippa I. † 44 A.D. (Cypros).
Herodias (1. Herod. 2. Antipas).
(Mariamme II.) Herod (Herodias).
Salome (Philip).
(Malthace) Archelaus (Glaphyra).
Antipas (Herodias).
(Cleopatra) Philip † 34 A.D. (Salome).
Agrippa II. † 100 A.D.
Berenice (1. Herod von Chalcis. 2. Polemon of Cilicia).
Drusilla (1. Azizus. 2. Felix).

* According to Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, vii. 160.—Proofs of the greater number of the details will be found in the following places:—

1. *Antiq.* xiv. 7. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 8. 9 (parents and brothers and sisters of Herod).
2. *Antiq.* xvii. 1. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, i. 28. 4 (wives and children of Herod).
3. *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 4, xix. 9. 1; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 11. 6 (the descendants of Mariamme).

ADDENDA TO DIVISION I. VOLS. I. AND II.

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VOLUME I.

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6. Prideaux. A new and improved edition of this work, revised by J. Talboys Wheeler, appeared in 2 vols. in 1858.

7. Holtzmann, Oskar, *Das Ende des jüdischen Staatswesens und die Entstehung des Christenthums*, 1888, forming the second half of the second volume of Stade's *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*.

8. Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iii. 4th edition, 1888; greatly enlarged.

8. Sack, *Die altjüdische Religion im Uebergange vom Bibelthume zum Talmudismus*, Berlin 1889 (612 pp.).

9. Morrison, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, London 1890 (426 pp.).

10. Weber, *System der altsyn. pal. Theologie*, in a new unaltered edition has appeared under the title: *Die Lehren des Talmud, quellenmässig, systematisch und gemeinverständlich dargestellt*, Leipzig 1886.

18. Guérin, *Jérusalem, son histoire, sa description, ses établissements religieux*, Paris 1889 (409 pp.).

19. Maps of Palestine. The following are important supplements to the English map, which embraces only the country west of the Jordan: (1) The Map of Djaulan by Schumacher, *Zeitschrift des DPV.* ix. 1886; (2) the Map of the Hauran, "after measurements and plans taken by Dr. Alphons Stübel in 1882, compared with other most important sources, and constructed by Dr. Hans Fischer," *Zeitschrift des DPV.* xii. 1889.—A Map of Palestine on a reduced scale after the best authorities, prepared by H. Fischer and H. Guthe, has been issued by Wagner & Debes, Leipzig (1890) for 1 M. 50 Pf. It is given also in vol. xiii. of the *Zeitschrift des DPV.*

28. The following additions to the literature of Numismatics may be noticed: Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iii. 4th edition, 1888, pp. 819-841; Grätz, *Revue des études juives*, t. xviii. 1889, pp. 301–304; Reinach, *Revue des études juives*, t. xvii. 1888, pp. 42–45; Reinach, *Revue*, t. xviii. 1889, pp. 304–306.

34. Marucchi, *Di un nuovo cimitero giudaico scoperto sulla Via Labicana*, Roma 1887.

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34. Derenbourg in the *Mélanges Renier*, 1887, pp. 437–441, from communications by De Rossi, has made known five inscriptions from the Jewish cemetery at Porto, four of these being published for the first time.

43. On the Sabbatical year: Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iii. 4th edition, pp. 652–655 (note 8).

53. On Dellius: Fabricius, *Theophilus von Mytilene und Quintus Dellius als Quellen der Geographie des Strabon*, Strassburg 1888.

56. On Strabo: Otto, "Strabonis *ἱστορικῶν ὑπομνημάτων* fragmenta collegit et enarravit adjectis quaestionibus Strabonianis" (*Leipziger Studien zur classischen Philologie*, xi. *Suppl.* vol. 1889).

69. Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iii. 4th edition, pp. 554–557, on Justus of Tiberias.

91, note. Against Niese's theory about the way in which Josephus obtained access to the authorities referred to in *Aniiq.* xiv. 10, these two facts may be adduced: (1) That the greater part of them refers to that relief from military service (*Antiq.* xiv. 10. 11–19) which was not in dispute in the controversy between the municipal communities of Asia Minor and the Jews; and (2) that another part of them refers to Judea (*Antiq.* xiv. 10. 2–10), the affairs of which were of no importance in the particular conflict then going on.

92. Add to note 15, with regard to Justus of Tiberias: Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iii. 4th edition, p. 555.

102. The text of the so-called Hegesippus is, according to Weber, also printed in: *Sancti Ambrosii opera omnia*, ed. Ballerini, t. vi. (Mediol. 1883) col. 1–276. — The text of Weber's Programm edition, we may here observe in passing, is not quite complete, since in passing from one Programm to another a small part is wanting. Therefore only the edition in book form can be used (Marburg 1864).—On Hegesippus compare also: Bardenhewer in Wetzer and Welte's *Kirchenlexicon*, 2nd edition, vol. v. 1888, col. 1585 f.; Ihm, *Studia Ambrosiana* (*Jahrbücher für classischen Philologie*, xvii. *Suppl.* vol., 1st pt. 1889), pp. 61–68. The latter is again in favour of assigning the authorship to Ambrose.

105. The fifth vol. of Niese's great edition of Josephus, containing the treatise *contra Apionem*, appeared in 1889.—Of the edition by Bekker, issued in Teubner's series, vols. i. and ii. have appeared: *Flavii Josephi opera omnia recognovit Naber*, 1888–1889.

105. As contributions to criticism of the text: Destinon, *De Flavii Josephi bello Judaico recensendo ad Benedictum Nisum epistula critica*, Kiel 1889, Programm.

109. On the State Papers used by Josephus, compare also: Judeich, *Caesar im Orient* (1885), pp. 119–141; Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iii. ed. iv. pp. 655–671 (note 9).

129. Note 22: Fürst, "Antoninus und Rabbi" (*Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, xvi. 1889, pp. 41–45).

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135. Note 33: Wünsche, *Der Babylonische Talmud* u. s. w., 2nd half-vol. pts. 3–4, 1889.

137. Schwab's French translation of the Jerusalem Talmud has been brought to a conclusion by the publication of vol. xi. 1889 (Sanhedrin, conclusion, Makkoth, Shebuoth, Aboda sara, Horajoth, Nidda).—Of vol. i., which in the first edition contained the tract Berachoth according to the Jerusalem and the Babylonian Talmud, a new edition appeared in 1890, containing the tract Berachoth according to the Jerusalem Talmud only (*Le Talmud de Jérusalem*, etc., t. i. nouvelle edition, *Traité des Berakhoth*, Paris 1890).

138. Wünsche, *Der Babylonische Talmud* u. s. w., 2nd half-vol. pts. 3–4, 1889.

139. Levy's *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch* has been completed by the issue of the concluding vol. iv. 1889.

139. Jastrow, *A Dictionary*, etc., 2 fasc. אסכלא — ברי, New York 1887.

139. Stein, *Das Verbum der Mischnasprache*, Berlin 1888.—Rosenberg, *Das aramäische Verbum im babylonischen Talmud*, Marburg 1888.

143. Darmesteter, "Le Talmud" (*Actes et conférences de la Société des études juives* [Appendix to *Revue des études juives*], 1889, pp. CCCLXXXI–CDXLII).

147. On Mechilta, Siphra, and Siphre, compare also: D. Hoffmann, *Zur Einleitung in die halachischen Midraschim.* Contributions to the *Jahresbericht des Rabbiner-Seminars*, at Berlin 1886–1887; Königsberger, *Die Quellen der Halachah.* 1 Part. *Der Midrasch*, Berlin 1890.—I regret that I did not sooner become acquainted with this careful and excellent work of D. Hoffmann. It contains very valuable studies on the history of the origin of the three Midrashim above named. On p. 24, Hoffmann gives a list of the authorities most frequently cited in Siphra; in pp. 38–40 those most frequently cited in Mechilta, and on p. 54 those most frequently mentioned in Siphre. A complete index of the Tannaim in Mechilta, Siphra, and Siphre is given at pp. 82–90.

147. On Siphre suta, see D. Hoffmann, *Zur Einleitung in die halachischen Midraschim*, pp. 59–66.

152. Lévi, "Eléments chrétiens dans le Pirké Rabbi Eliézer" (*Revue des études juives*, t. xviii. 1889, pp. 83–89).

164. Grätz, *Geschichte der juden*, vol. iii. 4th edition, pp. 559–577 (note 1).

208. Gatt, "Zur Akra-Frage", (*Theol. Quartalschr.* 1889, pp. 77–125).

210. ר' אליעזר המודעי is frequently referred to in Mechilta. See the list of passages in D. Hoffmann, *Zur Einleitung in die halachischen Midraschim* (*Jahresbericht des Rabbiner-Seminars*, at Berlin 1886–1887), p. 83.

221. On the geography of 1 Macc. v. 26, compare also Furrer, *Zeitschrift des DPV.* xii. 1889, pp. 151; Buhl, *Zeitschrift*, xiii. 1890, pp. 41–43.

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254. On Bascama, see Furrer, *Zeitschrift des DPV.* xii. p. 151.

268. On *Antiq.* xiv. 8. 5 :. Judeich, *Caesar im Orient* (1885), pp. 129–136 (reaches same conclusion as Mommsen).

271. "Kedron is the modern Katrah in the neighbourhood of Jamnia" (Furrer in correspondence).

302. "Bethome is Betuni on the same mountain ridge as Nebi Samwel" (Furrer in correspondence).

304. On Gaulana, see Furrer, *Zeitschrift des DPV.* xii. p. 151.

304. "Ragaba is very likely Ragib which lies in almost the same degree of latitude as Gerasa" (Furrer in correspondence).

328. Liebenam, *Forschungen zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des römischen Kaiserreichs.* 1 Bd. *Die Legaten in den römischen Provinzen von Augustus bis Diocletian*, Leipzig 1888. At pp. 359–389 a list is given of imperial legates in Syria from Augustus down to the third Christian century.

335. Judeich, *Caesar im Orient. Kritische Uebersicht der Ereignisse vom 9 August 48 bis October 47*, Leipzig 1885.

417. The form Ηρωιδης is also found in *Corp. Inscr. Atticarum*, ii. 3 (1888), n. 1672.

449. That the Herodian princes were σύμμαχοι is now quite beyond doubt. Compare the Coins of Agrippa above in vol. ii. p. 155.

VOLUME II.

27. The custom of celebrating the birthday of a prince is very ancient. Compare Gen. xl. 20, and the commentaries on that passage by Dillmann and others. Seeing that the Herodian princes expressly celebrated the day of their accession to the throne (Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 11. 6), it is instructive to learn from the great inscription of Rosetta that, *e.g.*, in Egypt also it was customary to keep both days: καὶ ἐπεὶ τὴν τριακάδα τοῦ Μεσορὴ, ἐν ᾗ τὰ γενέθλια τοῦ βασιλέως ἄγεται, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ [τὴν τοῦ Μεχεὶρ ἐπταικαιδεκάτην], ἐν ᾗ παρέλαβεν τὴν βασιλειαν παρὰ τοῦ πατρός κ.τ.λ. (see the text, *e.g.* in Müller's *Frag. hist. graec.* vol. 1 at close). For the custom of celebrating birthdays, compare also 2 Macc. vi. 7 (Antiochus Epiphanes) and Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 7. 1 (Agrippa I.).—Since in the Bible out of a great number only the celebrations of the birthdays of Pharaoh (Gen. xl. 20) and Herod Antipas are referred to, Origen and Jerome in their observations on Matt. xiv. 6 drew the conclusion that only wicked men acted thus (Origen on Matt. t. x. c. 22; Jerome, *Opp.* ed. Vallarsi, vii. 101).

58. A Greek text of the Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas has now been discovered which proves to be the original. The Acts of the Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas; the original Greek text

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now first edited from a MS. in the library of the Convent of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem by J. Rendel Harris and Seth R. Gifford, London 1890. The passage about the Procurator Hilarius here runs as follows: *καὶ Ἱλαρίανος ἐπίτροπος ὃς τότε τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου ἀποθανόντος Μινουκίου Ὀππιάνου ἐξουσίαν εἰλήφει μαχαίρας.*

87. "Tirathana = Tireh, south of Gerizim" (Furrer in correspondence).

224. Tarichea on the south-western corner of the Lake of Gennezaret. So also Buhl, *Zeitschrift des DPV.* xiii. 1890, p. 38 ff.

225. Against Furrer's identification of Gamala and Jamli I have advanced the consideration that one could not say of a place which is a day's journey from the sea that it lies *ὑπὲρ τὴν λίμνην*. With reference to this Furrer writes me: "Jamli stands on a rising ground overlooking the lake, and is indeed the height of the stronghold, seen from the west bank of the lake, occupying a commanding situation, because from it westward the land slopes downward. We may surely say St. Gall overlooks the Lake of Geneva, though it is some five leagues distant from the lake." I am now inclined to agree with Furrer.

249. On the Arch of Titus see also Reinach, "L'arc de Titus" (*Actes et conférences de la Société des études juives* [Appendix to *Revue des études juives*], 1890, pp. lxv–xci).—The inscription of the other now extant Arch of Titus is given according to the manuscript of Einsiedeln by De Rossi, *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, vol. ii. 1 (1888), p. 25, n. 31.

265. An inscription found in the neighbourhood of Caesarea, on which Caesarea is referred to as a colony (Col. I. Fl. Aug. Caesarea), has been published by Zangemeister, *Zeitschrift des DPV.* xiii. 1890, p. 25 ff.

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